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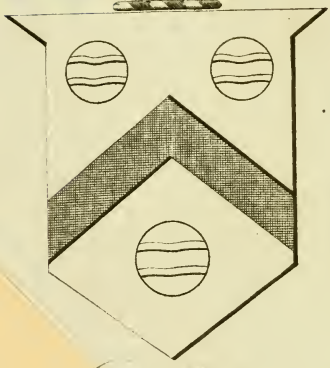

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R. Sykes

THE

WORKS

OF THE

REV. JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED BY THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

A NEW EDITION, IN NINETEEN VOLUMES;

CORRECTED AND REVISED

BY JOHN NICHOLS, F. S. A. EDINBURGH AND PERTH.

VOLUME IV.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN:

FIRST PRINTED IN 1758.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen," has been unaccountably decried; though a work of undoubted merit. It has even been supposed to be spurious, though every paragraph it contains is a sufficient voucher for its authenticity. It is repeatedly mentioned by our Author, in various parts of his writings*. He has called it "his GRAND business†;" and thought it "THE BEST WORK HE HAD EVER WRITTEN." As far as it extends, it is indeed a masterly performance; and will be deemed a valuable acquisition to future Historians. Deriving his intelligence, at that remarkable era, from the fountain-head, Swift could not be mistaken in the facts which he relates. He had ready access to every requisite source of information: and his manly fortitude must have placed him far above the necessity of wilful misrepresentation. Professedly an advocate for the tories, to the whigs he was an avowed, a formidable opponent. In his Journal to Stella (the more valuable for discovering his unreserved sentiments) he frequently laments the necessity of displacing the duke of Marlborough; and declares, though he loved not the man, he had prevented many hard things being said against him. And the favours he obtained from the ministry for the men of wit among the adverse party are too notorious to be enlarged on‡.

* See Dr. Swift's Preface to the History; and see also particularly sir Thomas Hanmer's very honourable testimony; who, having perused the manuscript, returned it with a very few observations, "which (he says) were as many as I could see occasion for; though, "I do assure you, I read with the same strictness and ill-nature "as in the former part."

† Journal to Stella, Feb. 27, 17$\frac{10}{11}$. ‡ See the Dean's Preface.

His

His earnestness to communicate this history to the publick is evident in many of his letters. In 1736, it was actually intended for the press; and in April, 1738, the dean expressed his dissatisfaction at the publication being so long delayed. Whatever motives might have then existed for such delay, whether tenderness to living characters, or more prudential reasons, a period of forty years must totally have removed them. The rage of party is subsided; and we may be allowed to contemplate the reign of Anne as impartially as that of Elizabeth.

At length this history was committed to the press in the year 1758 *; under the censure, it may be said, of its own editor; in justice to whom, however we may differ in opinion concerning Dr. Swift's candour, the editor's Advertisement is preserved entire. In the same year also it met with some severe strictures from another writer †. These we shall give too in his own words; and then fairly submit "The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen" to the judgment of the publick:

"These characters, and the history from whence "they have been extracted, may serve as a striking "example of the melancholy effects of prejudice and "party zeal; a zeal, which, whilst it corrupts the "heart, vitiates the understanding itself; and could "mislead a writer of so penetrating a genius as Dr. "Swift, to imagine that posterity would accept satire "in the place of history, and would read with satis-"tion a performance, in which the courage and mili-"tary skill of the duke of Marlborough are called

* Printed for A. Millar; and, in 1767, it was inserted by Mr. Tonson in a small edition of the Dean's Works.

† The compiler of the Annual Register, 1758.

" in question. The real character of these great men " was not what the low idolatry of the one faction, or " the malignity of the other, would represent it. " They were men, who, with great virtues and great " talents, mixed with some human infirmities, did " their country much service and honour. Their " talents were a publick benefit, their failings such " as only affected their private character. The dis- " play of this mixture had been a very proper task " for an impartial historian ; and had proved equally " agreeable and instructive to the reader, in such " hands. But these characters before us have all the " signs of being written, as Tacitus calls it, *recentibus* " *odiis*. In all other respects, the piece seems to be " a work not unworthy of its author; a clear and " strong, though not an elevated style ; an entire " freedom from every sort of affected ornament ; a " peculiar happiness of putting those he would sati- " rize in the most odious and contemptible light, " without seeming directly to intend it. These are " the characteristicks of all Swift's works ; and they " appear as strongly in this as in any of them. If " there be any thing different in this performance, " from the manner of his works published in his life- " time, it is, that the style is in this thrown some- " thing more backwards, and has a more antique " cast. This probably he did designedly, as he " might think it gave a greater dignity to the work. " He had a strong prejudice in favour of the lan- " guage, as it was in queen Elizabeth's reign; and " he rated the style of the authors of that time a " little above its real value. Their style was indeed " sufficiently bold and nervous, but deficient in grace " and elegance."

March 25, 1775. J. N.

ADVERTISEMENT,

PREFIXED TO THE EDITION OF 1758.

THUS, the long-wished for History of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign is at length brought to light, in spite of all attempts to suppress it!

As this publication is not made under the sanction of the name, or names, which the author and the world had a right to expect; it is fit some account of the work's appearing in this manner should be here given.

Long before the dean's apparent decline, some of his intimate friends, with concern, foresaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this it is owing, that these sheets, which the world now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from obscurity, perhaps from destruction.

For this, the publick is indebted to a gentleman, now in Ireland, of the greatest probity and worth, with whom the dean long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's hands the dean intrusted a copy of his history, desiring him to peruse and give his judgment of it, with the last corrections and amendments the author had given it, in his own hand.

His friend read, admired, and approved. And from a dread of so valuable and so interesting a work's being by any accident lost or effaced, as was pro-

bable by its not being intended to be published in the author's life time; he resolved to keep this copy, till the author should press him for it; but with a determined purpose, it should never see the light, while there were any hopes of the author's own copy being published, or even preserved.

This resolution he inviolably kept, till he and the world had full assurance, that the dean's executors, or those into whose hands the original copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it, that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.

Then, he thought himself not only at liberty, but judged it his duty to his departed friend, and to the publick, to let this copy, which he had now kept many years most secretly, see the light.

Thus it has at length fallen into the hands of a person, who publishes it for the satisfaction of the publick, abstracted from all private regards; which are never to be permitted to come into competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will see, that the author of these sheets wrote with strong passions, but with stronger prepossessions and prejudices in favour of a party. These, it may be imagined, the editor, in some measure, may have adopted; and published this work, as a kind of support of that party, or some surviving remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the reader, and inform him from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting, while he despises the subject: if the subject be ever so despicable, the masterly strokes of the painter may demand our admiration; while he, in other respects, is intitled to no portion of our regard.

In

In poetry, we carry our admiration still farther; and like the poet, while we actually contemn the man. Historians share the like fate; hence some, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, style, manner, and the like.

The editor considers this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no stranger to his politicks, connexions, tendencies, passions, and the whole economy of his life. He has long been hardily singular in condemning this great man's conduct amid the admiring multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an interest in a man, whose principles and manners he could by no rule of reason or honour approve, however he might have admired his wit and parts.

Such was judged the disposition of the man, whose history of the most interesting period of time in the annals of Britain is now, herein, offered to the reader. He may well ask from what motives? The answer is easily, simply given.

The causes assigned for delaying the publication of this history were principally these: That the manuscript fell into the hands of men, who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were by the dean believed to be of his party; though they did not, after his death, judge it prudent to avow his principles, more than to deny them in his lifetime. These men, having got their beavers, tobacco boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former friendship, by the dean's will, did not choose publickly to avow principles, that had marred their friend's promotion, and might probably put a stop to theirs: therefore, they gave the inquisitive world to understand, that there was something too strong against

many great men, as well as the succeeding system of publick affairs in general, in the dean's history of the four last years of the queen's reign, to admit of a publication, in our times; and, with this poor insinuation, excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly well affected, in suppressing the manifestation of displeasing truths, of however great importance to society.

This manuscript has now fallen into the hands of a man, who never could associate with, or even approve, any of the parties or factions, that have differently distracted, it might be said disgraced, these kingdoms; because he has as yet known none, whose motives or rules of action were truth and the publick good alone; of one, who judges, that perjured magistrates of all denominations, and their most exalted minions, may be exposed, deprived, or cut off, by the fundamental laws of his country; and who, upon these principles, from his heart, approves, and glories in, the virtues of his predecessors, who revived the true spirit of the British polity, in laying aside a priest-ridden, a hen-pecked, tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his country, and in reinstituting the dissolved body politick, by a revolution, supported by the laws of nature and the realm, as the only means of preserving the natural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.

Truth, in this man's estimation, can hurt no good cause. And falsehood and fraud, in religion and politicks, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

Insinuations, that this history contained something injurious to the present establishment, and therefore necessary to be suppressed, serve better the purposes of

of mistaken or insidious malecontents, than the real publication can. And, if any thing were by this or any other history to be shown essentially erroneous in our politicks; who, that calls himself a Briton, can be deemed such an impious slave, as to conceal the destructive evil? The editor of this work disdains and abhors the servile thought; and wishes to live no longer, than he dares to think, speak, write, and, in all things, to act worthy of a Briton.

From this regard to truth and to his country, the editor of this history was glad of an opportunity of rescuing such a writing from those who meant to suppress it: the common cause, in his estimation, required and demanded it should be done; and the sooner it is published he judged, the better: for, if the conduct of the queen and her ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long industriously cast upon it; what is more just than to vindicate it? what more reasonable, than that this should be done, while living witnesses may yet be called, to prove or disprove the several allegations and assertions; since, in a few years more, such witnesses may be as much wanting as to prevent a canonization, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be said on this side the question, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to justify the author of this history, in all points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: without being deeply versed in history or politicks; he can see his author, in many instances, blinded with passions, that disgrace the historian; and blending, with phrases worthy of a Cæsar or a Cicero,

Cicero, expressions not to be justified by truth, reason, or common sense; yet think him a most powerful orator, and a great historian.

No unprejudiced person will blame the dean, for doing all that is consistent with truth and decency to vindicate the government of the queen, and to exculpate the conduct of her ministers and her last general; all good men would rejoice at such a vindication. But, if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deserve the title of history. That he generally tells truth, and founds his most material assertions upon facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But, there is room to suspect, that while he tells no more than the truth, he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear that the queen's allies, especially our worthy friends the Dutch, were much to blame for the now generally condemned conduct of the queen, with regard to the prosecution of the war and the bringing about the peace.

The author's drawings of characters are confessedly partial: for he tells us openly, he means not to give characters intire, but such parts of each man's particular passions, acquirements, and habits, as he was most likely to transfer into his political schemes. What writing, what sentence, what character, can stand this torture?—What extreme perversion may not, let me say, does not this produce?—Yet thus does he choose to treat all men, that were not favourers of the latest measures of the queen; when the best that has been said for her, shows no more than that she was blindfolded and held in leading-strings by her ministers.

He does not spare a man, confessed by all the

world to have discharged the duties of his function like a soldier, like a hero. But charges prince Eugene with raising and keeping up a most horrible mob, with intent to assassinate Harley. For all which odious charges, he offers not one individual point of proof.

He is not content with laying open again the many faults already publickly proved upon the late duke of Marlborough; but insinuates a new crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.

On the other hand, he extols the ministers, and minions of the queen in the highest terms; and while he robs their antagonists of every good quality, generally gives those wisdom and every virtue that can adorn human nature.

He is not ashamed to attempt to justify, what all thinking good men must condemn, the queen's making twelve peers at once, to serve a particular turn.

All these may be ascribed to the strength of his passions, and to the prejudices, early imbibed, in favour of his indulgent royal mistress and her favourites and servants. The judicious will look through the elegant clothing, and dispassionately consider these as mere human errours, to which no well informed mind can assent. The editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

He makes a few lapses on the other side, without being as clear as an impartial historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the queen's displeasure at its being moved in parliament, that the prince elector should be invited to reside in England,

land, to whose crown he was by law declared presumptive heir. But is always open upon the queen's insisting on the pretender's being sent out of France.—It is easy to see how incompatible these things appear: Nothing could tend more to secure the Hanover succession, and to enlarge its benefits to Britain, than the bringing over the successor, who should, in every country, be well instructed in the language, customs, manners, religion and laws of his future subjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government. And our author does not take the proper care to inform us how far the French thought fit to comply with banishing the Pretender their dominions; since many still live in doubt, that if he was sent out of France, he was sent into England.

But there is one expression of our author too perverse, too grossly abused, to admit of any apology, of any palliation. It is not to be supposed, that he was ignorant of any word in the English language. And least of all can be supposed ignorant of the meaning of a word, which, had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain meaning impressed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no sensible subject can be ignorant.

Notwithstanding this, where our author speaks of the late king James, he calls him the *abdicated king*, and gives the same epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill advised, and ill fated prince, in every sense of the word, with Romans and English, and to all intents and purposes, *abdicated*; yet can he, in no sense be called *abdicated*; unless the people's asserting their rights, and defending themselves against a king, who broke his compact with his subjects, and overturned their government, can be called *abdication*

abdication in them; which no man in his senses can be hardy enough to support upon any principle of reason or the laws of England. Let the reader judge which this is most likely to be, errour or design.

These exceptions the editor thought himself bound to make to some parts of this work, to keep clear of the disagreeable imputations of being of a party, of whatsoever denomination, in opposition to truth and the rights and liberties of the subject.

These laid aside, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this history, from an insinuation, made only since the author's death; to wit, that he was never admitted into the secrets of the administration, but made to believe he was a confident, only to engage him in the list of the ministerial writers of that reign.

The falsehood of this will readily appear upon perusal of this work. This shows he knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he states facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon them with the talents of the greatest historian. And thus makes a history, composed rather of negotiations than actions, most entertaining, affecting, and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull, and disagreeable.

It is now fit to apologize for some errours, which the judicious must discover upon a perusal of this work. It is for this, among other reasons, much to be lamented, that this history was not published under the author's own inspection. It is next to impossible to copy or print any work without faults; and most so, where the author's eye is wanting.

It

It is not to be imagined, that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet, where some seeming inaccuracies in style or expression have been discovered; the deference due to the author made any alteration too presumptuous a task for the editor. These are therefore left to the amending hand of every sensible and polite reader, while the editor hopes it will suffice, that he should point out some of those errours, which are to be ascribed either to transcribers or the press*.

* These errours have been corrected in the present edition.

THE

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING written the following history at Windsor, in the happy reign of her majesty queen Anne, of ever glorious, blessed, and immortal memory; I resolved to publish it, for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects, in the year 1713; but, being under a necessity of going to Ireland, to take possession of the deanry of St. Patrick's, Dublin, I left the original with the ministers; and having staid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found, at my return, that my lord treasurer Oxford, and the secretary my lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it, without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever since preserved the original very safely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take, upon the German family's succeeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an undisputed parliament, brought into the house of commons by Mr. Harley, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very

very well understood, some years before her majesty's death, how the new king would act, immediately upon his entrance, in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust; and consequently what reports would industriously be raised, as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her majesty herself, as well as of her servants; who have been ever since blasted as enemies to the present establishment, by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot, to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation, until a few weeks before her majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made, in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate, not to be better informed, than those miserable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the same time, I freely confess it appeared necessary, as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to act, in every part, by a direct contrary system of politicks, should load their predecessors, with as much infamy, as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings, could swallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write, with the utmost impartiality, the following history of the four last years of her majesty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present, as well as posterity; I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends,

that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to set future ages right, in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful historian, I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth, as well as probability, but even against those happy events, which owe their success, to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials of this history, beside what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years, by the chief persons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers, as well as instructions sent them, by our secretaries of state, or by the first minister the earl of Oxford. The former, were all originals, and the latter, copies entered into books in the secretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Farther, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed; and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that on the contrary, her majesty issued a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise *, which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the treasurer and secretary; but, in those days, that was not

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord treasurer; because I thought it would ill become me, to be in a state of dependence.

I say this, to show that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addison and Mr. Congreve; neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and by his lordship's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. Steele might have been safe enough, if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those, who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I have no interest, or inclination, to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings, among a few of those, who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common, than the virulence of superficial and illinformed writers, against the conduct of those who are now called prime ministers: and since factions appear at present, to be at a greater height, than in any former times, although perhaps not so equally poised; it may probably concern those

those who are now in their height, if they have any regard to their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others, who humbly differ from them in some state opinions. Old persons remember, at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first earl of Clarendon, whose character, as it now stands, might be a pattern for all ministers; although even bishop Burnet of Sarum, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are so little esteemed upon many accounts, has been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treasurer and secretary Bolingbroke, after my utmost endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in Berkshire; where I staid until her majesty's death; and then immediately returned to my station in Dublin, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing England. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing nor adding, farther than by correcting the style: and if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed*, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy, under the obloquy that may perhaps be cast upon me, by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And yet I cannot find the least inconsistence with conscience or honour, upon the death of so excellent a princess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful protestant successor; whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament,

* It should be, *wrongly* informed.

with the greatest unanimity; after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance, should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther; that if the negotiators of that peace, had been chosen out of the most professed zealots, for the interest of the Hanover family, they could not have bound up the French king, or the Hollanders, more strictly, than the queen's plenipotentiaries did, in confirming the present succession; which was in them, so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew, that they should never receive the least mark of favour, when the succession had taken place.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I PROPOSE to give the publick an account, of the most important affairs at home, during the last session of parliament; as well as of our negotiations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but some time before and since. I shall relate the chief matters transacted by both houses in that session; and discover the designs carried on, by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but in some manner, against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation; show by what mismanagement, and to serve what purposes, they were at first contracted; by what negligence or corruption, they have so prodigiously grown; and what methods have since been taken, to provide not only for their payment, but to prevent the like mischief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I shall strictly follow truth; or what reasonably ap-

peared to me to be such, after the most impartial inquiries I could make, and the best opportunities of being informed, by those who were the principal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyrick or satire, with a history intended to inform posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present age, who may be ignorant or misled; since facts, truly related, are the best applauses, or most lasting reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the publick, usually seem to be calculated for London only, and some few miles about it; while the authors, suppose their readers to be informed of several particulars, to which those that live remote, are, for the generality, utter strangers. Most people who frequent this town, acquire a sort of smattering, such as it is, which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by innuendoes or hints at facts or persons, and initial letters of names; wherein gentlemen at a distance, although perhaps of much better understandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that these memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader, a short view of the state and disposition of affairs, when the last session of parliament began. And because the party leaders, who had lost their power and places, were, upon that juncture, employing all their engines, in an attempt to reestablish themselves; I shall venture one step farther, and represent so much of their characters, as may be supposed to have influenced their politicks.

On the 7th day of December, 1711, began the second session of parliament. It was now above a year since the queen had thought fit to put the great offices

offices of state, and of her own household, into other hands: however, three of the discontented lords were still in possession of their places; for the duke of Marlborough continued general, the duke of Somerset master of the horse, and the earl of Cholmondeley treasurer of her majesty's household: likewise great numbers of the same party, still kept employments of value and importance, which had not been usual of late years upon any changes of ministry. The queen, who judged the temper of her people, by this house of commons, which a landed interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable peace, and disposed to leave the management of it, to her own wisdom, and that of her council: she had therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform the States-General, of some overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that summer, her majesty took several farther steps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress at Utrecht, for a general peace, was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations, between our court and that of France, I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot, with respect to its debts: for the earl of Oxford, lord treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means, in the house of commons, where he was then a member, for providing a parliamentary fund, to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay upon the navy) without any new burden (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the same time, he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon

that article, by finding ready money for naval provisions, which has saved the publick somewhat more than *cent per cent* in that mighty branch of our expenses.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence, during a prosecution against one of their members *, where the whole sacred order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shown for that most religious bill, to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of London †, was a fresh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified, by her majesty's choosing one of their body to be a great officer of state ‡.

By this time likewise, all disputes about those principles, which used originally to divide whig and tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastical words, ought in justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to distinguish lovers of peace, from lovers of war; or those, who would leave her majesty some degree of freedom, in the choice of her ministers, from others, who could not be satisfied with her choosing any, except such as she was most averse from: but, where a nation is once divided, interest and animosity will keep open the breach, without being supported by any other principles: or, at worst, a body of discontented people can change, and take up what principles they please.

As to the disposition of the opposite party, we all remember that the removal of the last ministry, was

* Sacheverell. † Which owed its origin to Dr. Swift.

‡ Dr. Robinson, lord bishop of Bristol, to be lord privy seal.

brought

brought about by several degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one astonishment, before they fell into another. This scene lasted for some months, and was followed by a period of rage and despair, natural to those, who reflect that they have lost a secure game, by their own rashness, folly, and want of common management; when, at the same time, they knew by experience, that a watchful and dextrous adversary, lay ready to take the advantage. However, some time before the session, the heads of that party began to recollect themselves, and rally their forces, like an enemy who has been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not pursued; for although the chiefs of this faction, were thought to have but little esteem or friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of distressing, by all possible methods, the new administration; wherein if they could succeed so far, as to put the queen under any great necessity, another parliament must be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houses, although under a different form, upon the very first day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greatest privacy and application; which must be acknowledged to have for several days disconcerted some of the ministry, as well as dispirited their friends; and the consequences thereof, which have in reality been so very pernicious to the kingdom.

But

But because the principal leaders in this design, are the same persons, to whom, since the loss of their power, all the opposition has been owing, which the court received, either in treaties abroad, or the administration at home; it may not be improper to describe those qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them, in acting their several parts upon the publick stage; for I do not intend to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes, and which were most subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.

The lord Somers may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he has raised himself, by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune: he has constantly, and wih great steadiness, cultivated those principles, under which he grew. That accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops whom king James had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit, as honourable, as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons—That since we had accepted a new king, from a calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims, in religion and government. But, since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from their ancestors;

ancestors; it was the practice of those politicians, to introduce such men, as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty, from those, to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man, with talents more proper to acquire and preserve, the favour of a prince; never offending in word or gesture; in the highest degree courteous and complaisant; wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow: but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished; and in private conversation, where he observes it as inviolably, as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal. Two reasons are assigned for this behaviour: first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keeps all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second, that being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoids all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect. And it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire, upon the least appearance of provocation; which temper he strives to subdue, with the utmost violence upon himself: so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage, in those very moments when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humblest and softest manner: perhaps that force upon his nature, may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he has none; and his ambition

ambition is gratified, by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he has very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time, amuses himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person, who now presides over the discontented party, although he be not answerable for all their mistakes: and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanour of some persons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared her majesty was firmly resolved upon a treaty of peace, he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made; which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with, after the treaty of Ryswick; and the safest, as well as the most probable way, of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, because, whatever attempt has hitherto been made, with any appearance of conduct, or probability of success, to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

The

The duke of Marlborough's character has been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side, without the suspicion of flattery or detraction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports, of his friends and enemies among the soldiers, have rendered problematical: but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider, that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed, to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the tory principle; and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him, than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature, is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition, from his soliciting to be general for life: I am persuaded, his chief motive was the pay and perquisites, by continuing the war; and that he had *then* no intentions of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern, or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down, or extinguished, in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with respect to money, he makes up by a great pro-

fusion of promises: but this perfection, so necessary in courts, is not very successful in camps among soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife the duchess, may justly challenge her place in this list. It is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatness, and his fall; for above twenty years she possessed, without a rival, the favours of the most indulgent mistress in the world; nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She has preserved a tolerable court-reputation, with respect to love and gallantry; but three Furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were, sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage; by the last of these often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit, and has in her time affected the character of it, by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrines of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting; and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned, is the earl of Godolphin. It is said, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court; which some have very unjustly objected as a reproach. He has risen gradually in four reigns, and was much more constant to his second master king James, than some others, who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated

abdicated king to the sea side, and kept constant correspondence with him, till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of passion for the queen at St. Germain's; and his letters were to her, in the style of what the French call *double entendre*. In a mixture of love and respect, he used frequently to send her from hence, little presents of those things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always asked king William's leave, as if without her privity; because, if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this lord, that his predominant passions were love and play; that he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress, with a pencil and card; or that he has tears at command, like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry, or politicks. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his passion for the duchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trifle; taking fire at a nickname* delivered by Dr. Sacheverell, with great indiscretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himself: and this is one among many instances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The earl of Sunderland is another branch of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune, to have learned his divinity, from his uncle, and his politicks, from his tutor†. It may be thought a blemish in his character, that he has much

* Volpone. † Dr. Trimnel, afterwards bishop of Winton.

fallen

fallen from the height of those republican principles, with which he began; for in his father's life time, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often, among his familiar friends, refuse the title of Lord, (as he has done to myself) swear he would never be called otherwise than Charles Spencer, and hoped to see the day, when there should not be a peer in England. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither has he much improved it, either in reality *, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign, from the lady he is allied to †, or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he has done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those, to whom he has given greatest cause to complain; for which reason, he will never forgive either the queen, or the present treasurer.

The earl of Wharton has filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He has imbibed his father's ‡ principles in government; but dropped his religion, and took up no other in its stead: excepting that circumstance, he is a firm presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure, for making converts of young men of quality, upon their first appearance; in which publick service, he contracted

* 'Neither has he much improved it, *either* in reality,' &c. The repetition of those similar sounds so near each other offends the ear; it should be—'*nor* has he much improved it, *either* in reality,' &c.

† His lordship married the duchess of Marlborough's second daughter.

‡ The earl, his father, was a rigid presbyterian.

such

such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. Although the graver heads of his party, think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him; for, beside his talents above mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gifts upon such occasions, where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty, are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an uncontestable instance to discover the true nature of faction; since, being overrun with every quality which produces contempt and hatred, in all other commerce of the world, he has notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a figure.

The lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the rest, deserves a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer; but, as he was raised to be a chancellor, and a peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in late times had been the constant practice, and little skilled in the nature of government, or the true interest of princes, farther than the municipal or common law of England; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs; wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call *a piece of a*

scholar, and a good logical reasoner; if this were not too often allayed, by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which made him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list, is, the earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which he contributed his assistance, I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession, of principles directly opposite to those of his new friends. His vehement and frequent speeches, against admitting the prince of Orange to the throne, are yet to be seen; and although a numerous family, gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master; of which his friends produce several instances, and some, while he was secretary of state to king William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse of that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His adust complexion disposes him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He has some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least. A facility of utterance, descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, has brought himself, and some few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferiour to his brother Guernsey, but chiefly in those talents which

which he most values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheless, he preserves an ascendant. His great ambition was, to be the head of those who were called the church party; and indeed, grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgment and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause: but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one single proselyte, to keep himself in countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what sort of persons those were, who had the boldness to encounter the queen and ministry, at the head of a great majority of the landed interest; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her majesty's reign, the security, or at least the freedom, of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were, in the consequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addresses had been procured from both houses to the queen, representing their opinion, that no peace could be secure for Britain, while Spain or the West-Indies remained in the possession of the Bourbon family. But her majesty, having, for reasons which have been often told to the world, and which will not soon be forgotten, called a new parliament, and chosen a new set of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people; the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which

was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burden she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of some, whom she most trusted, or perhaps by the practices of these upon the allies; and lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the Austrian and Bourbon families. Upon all which motives, she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from France, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negotiation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this history. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such proposals were received from France, as were thought sufficient by our court, whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the bishop of Bristol*, lord privy seal, was dispatched to Utrecht, where he and the earl of Strafford, were appointed plenipotentiaries for the queen of Great Britain.

The managers of the discontented party, who, during the whole summer, had observed the motions of the court running fast toward a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppose her majesty's designs, when the parliament should meet. Their only strength was in the house of lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by those whose hearts were in the other interest; but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords, upon whose abilities and influence, of a

* Dr. John Robinson, bishop of Bristol in 1710; lord privy seal in 1711, in the room of John Holles, duke of Newcastle; and in 1713, translated to the see of London.

very different nature, the managers built their strongest hopes. The first was the duke of Somerset, master of the horse. This duke as well as his duchess, was in a good degree of favour with the queen, upon the score of some civilities and respects, her majesty had received from them, while she was princess. For some years after the revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late earl of Rochester who first presented him to king William. However, since the time he came into employment, which was toward the close of the last reign, he has been a constant zealous member of the other party; but never failed either in attendance or respect toward the queen's person; or, at most, only threatened sometimes, that he would serve no longer, while such or such men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all against duty, or good behaviour. He had been much caressed and flattered by the lords of the Junto, who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of Hanover. All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party leaders; so that upon the queen's first intention of changing her ministry, soon after the trial

of Dr. Sacheverell, he appointed several meetings with Mr. Harley alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit with the queen, to drive on the removal of my lord Godolphin, and the rest; and in the council, treated the small remainder, who continued some time longer in their places, with all possible marks of hatred or disdain. But, when the question came for dissolving the parliament, he stopped short; he had already satiated his resentments, which were not against things, but persons: he furiously opposed that counsel, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in greater rage than ever; opposed the court in all elections, where he had influence or power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded lords, especially the earl of Godolphin, who is reported to have treated him at Newmarket in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his duchess, with the queen, at length begat a reconcilement. He still kept his employment, and place in the cabinet council; but had never appeared there, from an avowed dislike of all persons and proceedings. It happened, about the end of summer, 1711, at Windsor, when the cabinet council was summoned, this duke, whether by direction from his teachers, or the instability of his nature, took a fancy to resume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which, Mr. secretary St. John refused to assist, and gave his reasons, "that he "would

" would never sit in council with a man, who had " so often betrayed them, and was openly engaged " with a faction, which endeavoured to obstruct all " her majesty's measures."

Thus the council was put off to next day, and the duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war against the ministry; and, from that time to the session, employed himself in spiriting up several depending lords, to adhere to their friends, when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of were, " That " those in power designed to make an ignominious " and unsecure peace, without consulting the allies: " That this could be no otherwise prevented, than " by an address from the lords, to signify their opi- " nion, that no peace could be honourable or se- " cure, while Spain or the West Indies remained " in any of the Bourbon family; upon which, " several farther resolutions and inquiries would " naturally follow: That the differences between the " two houses, upon this point, must either be made " up by the commons agreeing with the lords, or " must end in a dissolution, which would be follow- " ed by a return of the old ministry; who, by the " force of money and management, could easily " get another parliament to their wishes." He farther assured them boldly, " That the queen herself " was at the bottom of this design, and had em- " powered him to desire their votes against the peace, " as a point that would be for her service; and " therefore they need not be in pain upon account " of their pensions, or any farther marks of favour " they expected." Thus by reviving the old arts, of using her majesty's authority against her person,

he prevailed over some, who were not otherwise in a station of life to oppose the crown; and his proselytes may pretend to some share of pity, since he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done to deserve the loss of both.

The other lord, in whom the discontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the earl of Nottingham, already mentioned; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their fall; partly, from his avowed principles, but chiefly, from the hopes he had of sharing in their spoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the queen, or her new servants: these apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the publick business, from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was suffered to have any part in affairs; and he stood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the house of lords, and in her majesty's presence, "That "the electoral prince of Hanover might be invited "to reside in England;" although he had before declared to the queen, how much he was against that proposal, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable employments had been given to his nearest relations; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the earl of Rochester's decease, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for president of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the duke of Newcastle, lord privy seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the earl of Jersey,

Jersey, and, upon this lord's sudden death, was actually disposed of to the bishop of Bristol: by which he plainly saw, that the queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own disappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the publick management, and to assure his neighbours in the country, "that the nation was "in imminent danger of being ruined." The discontented lords were soon apprised of this great change; and the duke of Roxburgh*, the earl's son-in-law, was dispatched to Burleigh on the Hill to cultivate his present dispositions, and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures, for distressing or destroying the ministry: but, in order to preserve his reputation with the church party, and perhaps bring them over to his interests, he proposed that a bill should be brought into the house of lords, for preventing occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the low-church principle; which would convince the world of their good intentions to the established religion, and that their oppositions to the court, wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and safety.

These preparations were publick enough, and the ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves; but

* John Ker, earl of Roxburgh and Kelso, created marquis of Beaumont and Cessford, and duke of Roxburgh, April 27, 1707, was one of the sixteen peers in the first two parliaments of Great Britain.

they

they seem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to those arts, which our corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a majority of ten upon the side of the court; I remember to have told my lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five, because if their adversaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and so it happened to prove; for the mistake lay, in counting upon the bare promises of those, who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were only kept in awe, by the fear of offending the crown, and losing their subsistence; wherein the duke of Somerset had given them full satisfaction.

With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the 7th of December, 1711. The queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly taken up, in telling both houses, what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her majesty was withdrawn, the house of lords, in a committee, resolved upon an address of thanks; to which the earl of Nottingham proposed an addition of the following clause.

"And we do beg leave to represent it to your "majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of this "house, that no peace can be safe or honourable "to Great Britain and Europe, if Spain and the "West Indies are to be allotted to any branch of "the house of Bourbon.

He

He was seconded by the earl of Scarborough; and, after a debate of several hours, the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day, the house agreed with the committee. The depending lords (having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry, and enemies to the former) went along with the stream, pretending not to see the consequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the eleventh; to which her majesty's answer was short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece; and, in return to lord Nottingham's clause, said, "She should "be sorry that any body could think she would not "do her utmost to recover Spain and the West "Indies from the house of Bourbon."

Upon the 15th of December, the earl of Nottingham likewise brought in the bill to prevent occasional conformity, (although under a disguised title) which met with no opposition; but was swallowed by those very lords, who always appeared with the utmost violence, against the least advantage to the established church.

But in the house of commons there appeared a very different spirit; for, when one Mr. Robert Walpole, offered a clause of the same nature with that of the earl of Nottingham, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their address was in the most dutiful manner, approving of what her majesty had done toward a peace, and trusting entirely to her wisdom, in the future management of it. This address was presented to the queen a day before that of the lords, and received

ceived an answer distinguishedly gracious. But the other party was nowise discouraged by either answer; which they looked upon as only matter of course, and the sense of the ministry, contrary to that of the queen.

The parliament sat as long as the approaching festival would allow; and upon the 22d, the land tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the house of commons adjourned to the 14th of January following: but the adjournment of the lords was only to the 2d, the prevailing party there, being in haste to pursue the consequences of the earl of Nottingham's clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treasurer, and overthrow the ministry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be disturbed by the commons.

When this address against any peace without Spain, &c. was carried in the house of lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most men's passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The earl of Wharton was observed in the house to smile, and put his hands to his neck, when any of the ministry were speaking, by which he would have it understood that some heads were in danger. Parker, the chief justice, began already, with great zeal and officiousness, to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the administration: in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.

On the other side, all well wishers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and

and the treasurer stood the foremost mark, both of his enemies fury, and the censure of his friends: among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage, to his procrastinating nature; others, to his unmeasurable publick thrift. Both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event: and some began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other stations, were what he justly deserved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with great phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told monsieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, two days before the parliament sat, "That he was "sorry for what was likely to pass, because the "States would be the first sufferers; which he "desired the envoy to remember." And to his nearest friends, who appeared in pain about the publick or themselves, he only said, "That all "would be well:" and desired them not to be frighted.

It was, I conceive, upon these motives, that the treasurer advised her majesty to create twelve new lords*, and thereby disable the sting of faction for the

* The new lords were, James lord Compton, eldest son of the earl of Northampton; and Charles lord Bruce, eldest son to the earl of Aylesford; these two were called up by writ, December 28, 1711. Three days after, the following ten were created: George Henry (lord Hay, viscount Dupplin and earl of Kinnoul in Scotland, married to Mr. Harley's youngest daughter Abigail), baron Hay of Bedwarden, Herefordshire; the lord viscount Windsor of Ireland, baron Mountjoy of the Isle of Wight; Henry Paget, esq. (son to the lord Paget) baron Burton of Burton, Staffordshire; Sir Thomas Mansell, bart. baron Mansell of Margam, Glamorganshire; sir Thomas

the rest of her lifetime. This promotion was so ordered, that a third part, were of those, on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party, being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did :—" That it was a pernicious ex-
" ample set for ill princes to follow, who, by the
" same rule, might make at any time a hundred as
" well as twelve, and by these means become masters
" of the house of lords whenever they pleased;
" which would be dangerous to our liberties." To this it was answered, " That ill princes seldom trouble
" themselves to look for precedents; that men of
" great estates will not be less fond of preserving their
" liberties, when they are created peers; that in such
" a government as this, where the prince holds the
" balance between two great powers, the nobility
" and people, it is the very nature of his office to
" remove from one scale into the other, or sometimes
" put his own weight in the lightest, so as to bring
" both to an equilibrium : and lastly, that the other
" party, had been above twenty years, corrupting
" the nobility, with republican principles, which no-
" thing but the royal prerogative could hinder from
" overspreading us."

The conformity bill abovementioned was prepared

Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton of Middleton, Warwickshire; sir Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor of Brunham, Bedfordshire; George Granville, esq. baron Lansdowne of Biddiford, Devonshire; Samuel Masham, esq. baron Masham of Oates, Essex; Thomas Foley, esq. baron Foley of Kidderminster, Worcestershire; and Allen Bathurst, esq. baron Bathurst of Battlesden, Bedfordshire.

by

by the earl of Nottingham, before the parliament met, and brought in at the same time with the clause against peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends. This, he hoped, would not only save his credit with the church party, but bring them over to his politicks; since they must needs be convinced, that instead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greatest enemies to the established religion, to be the first movers in a law for the perpetual settlement of it. Here it was worth observing, with what resignation the Junto Lords (as they were then called) were submitted to, by their adherents and followers: for it is well known, that the chief among the dissenting teachers in town, were consulted upon this affair: and such arguments used, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cause, than the passing of this bill. I did indeed see a letter at that time from one of them, to a great man, complaining, "That they were betrayed and undone by "their pretended friends;" but they were in general very well satisfied, upon promises that this law should soon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as soon as their friends should be re-established.

But nothing seemed more extraordinary, than the event of this refined management, by which the earl of Nottingham was so far from bringing over proselytes, (wherein his abilities fell very short even of the duke of Somerset's) or preserving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did so much as imagine he had any such design; only, when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep reach of politicks, which they could not

not comprehend: however, they liked the thing; and without troubling themselves about the persons or motives from whence it rose, it had a very speedy passage through both houses. It must be confessed, that some attempt of this nature was much more necessary to the leaders of that party, than is generally thought. The desire of power and revenge was common to them all; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of protection; whose safety was therefore concerned in the design of ruining the ministry, as well as their ambition. The duke of Marlborough foresaw those examinations, which were afterwards made into some parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps inquire into the particulars of the negotiation at the Hague, 1709; for what ends, and by whose advice, the propositions of peace from France were rejected. Besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the queen to constitute him General for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of much proof. It is true, indeed, that while the duke's affair was under the consideration of the house of commons, one of his creatures * (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the speaker, with a very serious countenance, "that the world was mistaken, in censuring his lord "upon this article; for it was the queen who pressed "the duke to accept that commission; and upon his "humble refusal conceived her first displeasure "against him." How such a defence would have passed, if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any person in his wits could

* Mr. Craggs, father to the secretary.

have

nave the confidence to affirm it; which last it would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The earl of Godolphin wanted protection, notwithstanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to pass their accompts, might be punished as a breach of trust. He had run the kingdom into immense debts, by taking up stores for the navy upon a vast discount, without parliamentary security; for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity: and he had given way at least, to some proceedings, not very justifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the publick had suffered considerable losses. The barrier treaty sat heavy upon the lord Townshend's spirits, because, if it should be laid before the house of commons, whoever negotiated that affair, might be subject to the most severe animadversions: and the earl of Wharton's administration in Ireland, was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least, for high crimes and misdemeanours.

The managers in Holland were sufficiently apprised of all this; and monsieur Buys, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters, and their English friends, which became two confederates pursuing the same end.

This man had been formerly employed in England from that republick, and understood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been such, as to furnish now and then a Latin quotation,

of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government, reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the rest of the world. His reasonings upon politicks, are with great profusion at all meetings; and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction, that he has fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferiour sort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the boor to the burgomaster. He came into England with instructions, authorizing him to accommodate all differences, between her majesty and the States; but, having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry, "He had powers to hear "their proposals, but none to conclude:" and having represented to his masters what had been told him by the adverse party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the court, would exactly fall in with the designs of the States; which were, to carry on the war as they could, at our expense; and to see themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to France, or to receive overtures from thence.

The emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all counsels which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of Spain. Nay, the elector of Hanover himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of England, and obliged by all sorts of ties to cultivate her majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer

suffer monsieur Bothmar, his envoy here, to print and publish a memorial in English, directly disapproving all her majesty's proceedings; which memorial, as appears by the style and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at least digested, by some party pen on this side of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preserve the respect ever due to foreign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court, altogether upon the persons employed. But I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent in this point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that his electoral highness, might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident: for, first, the manner of delivering it to the secretary of state, was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur Bothmar, having obtained an hour of Mr. secretary St. John, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists; and upon going away, desired he might leave a paper with the secretary, which, he said, contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. St. John laid aside, among others of little consequence; and a few days after, saw a memorial in print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the same with what Bothmar had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the 5th day of January, prince Eugene of Savoy landed in England. Before he left his ship, he asked a person who came to meet him, "Whether the new "lords were made, and what was their number?" He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people, to St. James's; where Mr. secre-

tary St. John introduced him to the queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected; and the project of his journey, had as long been formed here, by the party leaders, in concert with monsieur Buys and monsieur Bothmar, the Dutch and Hanover envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war on a new foot, very advantageous to Britain; part of which, by her majesty's commands, Mr. St. John soon after produced to the house of commons; where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's proposals, as far as they related to Spain, were communicated to the house in the words following:

"His imperial majesty judges that forty thousand "men will be sufficient for this service; and that the "whole expense of the war in Spain may amount to "four millions of crowns; toward which, his im- "perial majesty offers to make up the troops which "he has in that country to thirty thousand men, and "to take one million of crowns upon himself."

On the other side, the house of commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her majesty toward that service: for it was supposed the emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion, in a point that so nearly concerned him: or at least, that Britain contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his imperial majesty, and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of prince Eugene's journey was, to raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour

favour with the emperor, and empowered to make such proposals from his master, as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from count Gallas, (formerly the emperor's envoy here) that the prince was wholly left to his liberty, of making what offers he pleased in the emperor's name; for, if the parliament could once be brought to raise funds, and the war go on, the ministry here must be under a necessity of applying, and expending those funds; and the emperor could find afterwards twenty reasons and excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his quota. Therefore prince Eugene, for some time, kept himself within generals; until, beng pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in Spain, which the house of Austria pretended to have most at heart, he made the offer abovementioned, as a most extraordinary effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that monarchy to themselves: but, shameful as these proposals were, few believed the emperor would observe them; or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many men, as would make up an army of thirty thousand men to be employed in Spain.

Prince Eugene's * visit to his friends in England, continued longer than was expected. He was every

 day

* "Prince Eugene's character was so justly high, that all people for "some weeks pressed about the places where he was to be seen, "to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted, at several "times, to much discourse with him. His character is so universally "known, that I will say nothing of him but from what appeared "to myself. He has a most unaffected modesty, and does scarcely "bear the acknowledgments that all the world pay him. He descends "to an easy equality with those with whom he converses; and "seems

day entertained magnificently, by persons of quality of both parties. He went frequently to the treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private. He visited the other ministers, and great officers of the court: but on all occasions, publickly owned the character and appellation of a whig; and, in secret, held continual meetings with the duke of Marlborough, and the other discontented lords, where M. Bothmar usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince, to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence; and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, sometimes charged upon the Italians; and his being nursed in arms, has so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand men's lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable passion for war; said, "He had hopes of others; but that the trea-" surer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved." Therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the head of affairs, he proposed an expedient, often practised by those of his country, "That the treasurer (to use his own expression) " should be taken off *à la negligence;* that this might " be easily done, and pass for an effect of chance, if it " were preceded by encouraging some proper people,

" seems to assume nothing to himself while he reasons with others. " He was treated with great respect by both parties." Burnet, IV. 350. This illustrious general was born in 1663; and died April 10, 1736.

" to

" to commit small riots in the night." And in several parts of the town, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission; and, mixing themselves with those disorderly people, that often infest the streets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation. But an effectual stop was soon put to those enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.

I am very sensible that such an imputation, ought not to be charged upon any person whatsoever, upon slight grounds, or doubtful surmises; and that those who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this passage to be fitter for a libel than a history. But, as the account was given by more than one person, who was at the meeting, so it was confirmed, past all contradiction, by several intercepted letters and papers: and it is most certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some counsels, yet more violent and desperate than this; which, however, by the vigilance of those near the person of her majesty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of December, 1711, the duke of Marlborough was removed from all his employments: the duke of Ormond succeeding him as general, both here and in Flanders. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the duke of Marlborough) was much censured both at home and abroad, and by some, who did not wish ill to the present situation of

affairs. There were few examples of a commander * being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course of success, for many years, against a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war. Those who had least esteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whose troops were perpetually victorious while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers, an opinion that they should always conquer, and into the enemy, that they should always be beaten; than which nothing is to be held of greater moment, either in the progress of a war, or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the queen and ministry, to have kept the duke of Marlborough in his post, if a way could have been found out, to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure, make usually much more noise, than the causes. Thus, the sound of the duke's fall, was heard farther than many of the reasons which made it necessary; whereof, though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the duke's last return from Flanders, he had fixed his arrival † to town (whether by accident or otherwise) upon the 17th of November, called queen Elizabeth's day; when great numbers of his creatures and admirers, had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy; for the performance of which with more solemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the

* It should be, 'of a commander's being disgraced,' &c.

† Arrival *to* a place, is not English: it should be arrival *at*.

several

several circumstances of the expense of this intended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted it; the court, apprehensive of a design to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the several figures should be seized as popish trinkets; and guards were ordered to patrole, for preventing any tumultuous assemblies. Whether this frolick were only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I must leave undetermined. The duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flourishing times, whenever he came back to England upon the close of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourse of the *mobile*, if they had been disposed to attend him: therefore, so very contrary a proceeding at this juncture, made it suspected as if he had a design to have placed himself at their head. "France," "Popery," "The Pretender," "Peace without Spain," were the words to be given about at this mock parade; and if what was confidently asserted be true, that a report was to have been spread at the same time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive, by the vigilance of those in power, the duke's arrival was without any noise or consequence; and upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons, that the ministers might with little difficulty have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for, as he would probably have accepted any terms, to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which

which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity) and this infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him, *ipsique onerique timentem.* But reason, as well as the event, proved this to be a mistake: for the ministers, being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue, as the honour and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompense the duke, for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then, the other party had calculated their numbers; and by the accession of the earl of Nottingham, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the duke of Somerset, found they were sure of a majority in the house of lords: so that, in this view of circumstances, the duke of Marlborough thought he acted with security, as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the design of ruining the ministry, at the expense of his duty to his sovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. WHIG and TORY were now no longer the dispute; but THE QUEEN, or THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. He was at the head of all the cabals and consults with Bothmar, Buys, and the discontented lords. He forgot that government of his passion, for which his admirers used to celebrate him; fell into all the impotences of anger and violence, upon every party debate: so that the queen found herself under a necessity; either, on the one side, to sacrifice those friends, who had ventured their lives, in rescuing her out of the power of some, whose former treatment she had little reason to be fond of; to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and

and dissolve her parliament; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties at once. Her majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer course; and, during the recess at Christmas, sent the duke a letter, to tell him she had no farther occasion for his service.

There has not perhaps in the present age, been a clearer instance, to show the instability of greatness, which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an instruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can, by a little resolution, be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was beyond all comparison the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a sudden; and except a few friends or followers by inclination, the rest dropped off in course. From directing in some manner the affairs of Europe, he descended to be a member of a faction, and with little distinction even there: that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him, when he stood most in need of its assistance; and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK II.

THE house of lords met upon the 2d day of January, according to their adjournment; but, before they could proceed to business, the twelve new created peers were, in the usual form, admitted to their seats in that assembly; who, by their numbers, turned the balance on the side of the court, and voted an adjournment to the same day with the commons. Upon the 14th of January, the two houses met; but the queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message, to inform them, "That she was prevented by a sudden return of "the gout; and to desire they would adjourn for "three days longer, when her majesty hoped she "should be able to speak to them." However, her indisposition still continuing, Mr. secretary St. John brought another message to the house of commons from the queen, containing the substance of what

what she intended to have spoken: "That she "could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were "arrived at Utrecht; had begun, in pursuance of "her instructions, to concert the most proper ways "of procuring a just satisfaction to all powers in "alliance with her, according to their several treaties, "and particularly with relation to Spain and the "West Indies: That she promised to communicate "to them the conditions of peace, before the same "should be concluded: That the world would now "see how groundless these reports were, and with-"out the least colour, that a separate peace had "been treated: That her ministers were directed to "propose, that a day might be fixed for the finish-"ing, as was done, for the commencement, of this "treaty; and that in the mean time, all preparations "were hastening for an early campaign, &c."

Her majesty's endeavours toward this great work, having been in such a forwardness at the time that her message was sent, I shall here, as in the most proper place, relate the several steps, by which the intercourse between the courts of France and Britain, was begun and carried on.

The marquis de Torcy, sent by the most Christian king to the Hague, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his master's name; which our ministers, as well as those of the States, thought fit to refuse; and advanced other proposals in their stead; but of such a nature as no prince could digest, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, "That the "French king should employ his own troops, in "conjunction

" conjunction with those of the allies, to drive his " grandson out of Spain." The proposers knew very well, that the enemy would never consent to this ; and if it were possible they could at first have any such hopes, mons. de Torcy assured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed ; for, when the British and Dutch plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands, they desired that minister to assist them in the style and expression : which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last resolution, whether these were the lowest terms the allies would accept ; and having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect :

" That he thanked them heartily, for giving him " the happiest day he had ever seen in his life : That " in perfect obedience to his master, he had made " concessions, in his own opinion, highly derogatory " to the king's honour and interest : That he had " not concealed the difficulties of his court, or the " discontents of his country, by a long and unsuc- " cessful war, which could only justify the large " offers he had been empowered to make : That the " conditions of peace, now delivered into his hands " by the allies, would raise a new spirit in the nation, " and remove the greatest difficulty the court lay " under ; putting it in his master's power, to con- " vince all his subjects, how earnestly his majesty " desired to ease them from the burden of the war ; " but that his enemies would not accept of any terms, " which could consist either with their safety, or his " honour. Mons. de Torcy assured the pensionary,

" in the strongest manner, and bid him count upon it, " That the king his master would never sign those " articles."

It soon appeared that the marquis De Torcy's predictions were true; for, upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects, against the unreasonableness and injustice of his enemies: which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it; for, the French nation, extremely jealous of their monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the king their consecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom (generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth) when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men who influenced their councils, recovered strength enough to support itself, for three following campaigns; and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the Dutch (venturing to act without the assistance of Britain, which they had shamefully abandoned) was an overmatch for the whole confederate army.

Those who in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negotiation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related; and express the zeal of the British and Dutch ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after mons. De Torcy and mons. Rouille, for a farther conference. But in the mean time, Mr. Horatio Walpole, secretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither, to have those

those abortive articles signed and ratified by her majesty at a venture; which was accordingly done: a piece of management altogether absurd, and without example; contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to show what great things the ministry designed to do.

But, this hope expiring, upon the news that France had refused to sign those articles, all was resolved by recourse to the old topick of the French perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations: "they were a nation never "to be trusted." The parliament cheerfully continued their supplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, and the occasions thereby given to the people, to discover and exert their dispositions, very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of 1710, ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

The king of France, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions, with either of the two maritime powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both; who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people in either, as well as against their several maxims of government. But, upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in England, the new parliament and ministers, acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity

pportunity might arise, of resuming his endeavours oward a peace.

There was at this time in England a French ecclesiastick, called the abbé Gualtier*, who had resided several years in London, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used, upon occasion, to exercise his function of a priest. After the battle of Blenheim, this gentleman went down to Nottingham, where several French prisoners of quality were kept; to whom he rendered those offices of civility, suitable to persons in their condition, which, upon their return to France, they reported to his advantage. Among the rest, the chevalier de Croissy told his brother, the marquis de Torcy, "That, whenever the French court "would† have a mind to make overtures of peace "with England, monsieur Gualtier might be very "usefully employed, in handing them to the mi-"nisters here." This was no farther thought of at present. In the mean time the war went on; and the conferences at the Hague, and Gertruydenberg, miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands, as they neither expected, nor perhaps desired should be granted.

Some time in July, 1710, mons. Gualtier re-received a letter from the marquis de Torcy, signifying, "That, a report being spread of her majesty's "intentions to change her ministry, to take Mr. "Harley into her councils, and to dissolve her par-

* Abbé Gualtier was the son of a tradesman at St. Germain, and was known to be a French emissary, though he had been suffered to remain in England, under the protection of count Gallas, during the war.

† *Would have a mind—would,* is here improperly used for *should.*

" liament, the most Christian king thought it " might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer " new proposals of a treaty." Mons. Gualtier was therefore directed to apply himself, in the marquis's name, either to the duke of Shrewsbury, the earl of Jersey, or Mr. Harley; and inform the French court how such a proposition would be relished. Gualtier chose to deliver his message to the second of those, who had been ambassador from the late king to France. But the earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger, and a private person, who had no authority for what he said, more than a letter from monsieur de Torcy. Gualtier offered to procure another from that minister to the earl himself; and did so, in a month after: but obtained no answer till December following; when the queen had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes. About the beginning of January, the abbé (after having procured his dismission from count Gallas, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to Paris, to inform mons. de Torcy, " That her majesty would be willing " his master should resume the treaty with Hol- " land, provided the demands of England might " be previously granted." Gualtier came back, after a short stay, with a return to his message, " That " the Dutch had used the most christian king and " his ministers in such a manner, both at the Hague " and Gertruydenberg, as made that prince resolve " not to expose himself any more to the like treat- " ment; that he therefore chose to address himself " to England, and was ready to make whatever " offers her majesty could reasonably expect, for the advantage

advantage of her own kingdoms, and the satisfaction of her allies.

After this message had been duly considered by the queen and her ministers, mons. Gualtier was dispatched a second time to France, about the beginning of March, 1710-11, with an answer to the following purpose: "That since France had their "particular reasons for not beginning again to treat "with Holland, England was willing to remove "that difficulty, and proposed it should be done "in this manner: That France should send over "hither the propositions for a treaty, which should "be transmitted by England to Holland, to be "jointly treated on that side of the water; but "it was to be understood, that the same proposition "formerly offered to Holland, was to be made to "England, or one not less advantageous to the "allies: for although England would enter most "sincerely into such a treaty, and show in the course "of it the clearness of their intentions; yet they "could not with honour, entertain a less beneficial "proposal, than what was offered to the States."

That prince, as well as his minister mons. de Torcy, either felt, or affected, so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, that they appeared fully determined against making any application to the States, where the same persons continued still in power, of whose treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the inclination of that republick towards a peace; but, at the same time, showed a mighty complaisance to the English nation, and a desire to have her majesty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the first overture in form sent

from that kingdom, and signed by mons. de Torcy, on the 22d of April, N. S. 1711, to the following effect:

" That, as it could not be doubted but the king " was in a condition of continuing the war with " honour, so it could not be looked on as a mark " of weakness in his majesty, to break the silence " he had kept, since the conferences at Gertruy- " denberg, and that before the opening of the cam- " paign, he now gives farther proof of the desire " he always had, to procure the repose of Europe. " But, after what he has found, by experience, of " the sentiments of those persons who now govern " the republick of Holland, and of their industry " in rendering all negotiations without effect, his " majesty will, for the publick good, offer to the " English nation those propositions which he thinks " fit to make, for terminating the war, and for set- " tling the tranquillity of Europe upon a solid " foundation. It is with this view that he offers to " enter into a treaty of peace, founded on the fol- " lowing conditions :

" First, The English nation shall have real securi- " ties for carrying on their trade in Spain, the Indies, " and ports of the Mediterranean.

" Secondly, The king will consent to form a " sufficient barrier in the Low Countries, for the " security of the republick of Holland ; and this " barrier shall be such as England shall agree upon " and approve ; his majesty promising, at the same " time, entire liberty and security to the trade of " the Dutch.

" Thirdly, All reasonable methods shall be " thought of, with sincerity and truth, for giving

" satisfaction

" satisfaction to the allies of England and Hol-
" land.

" Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the king of
" Spain are in so good a condition, as to furnish
" new expedients, for putting an end to the disputes
" about that monarchy, and for settling it to the
" satisfaction of the several parties concerned, all
" sincere endeavours shall be used, for surmounting
" the difficulties arisen upon this occasion; and the
" trade and interest of all parties engaged in the pre-
" sent war shall be secured.

" Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of
" a peace upon these conditions, shall be imme-
" diately opened; and the plenipotentiaries whom
" the king shall name to assist thereat, shall treat
" with those of England and Holland, either alone,
" or in conjunction with those of their allies, as
" England shall choose.

" Sixthly, His majesty proposes the towns of Aix
" la Chapelle, or Liege, for the place where the
" plenipotentiaries shall assemble; leaving the choice
" likewise to England, of either of the said towns,
" wherein to treat of a general peace."

These overtures, although expressing much confidence in the ministry here, great deference to the queen, and displeasure against the Dutch, were immediately transmitted by her majesty's command to her ambassador in Holland, with orders that they should be communicated to the pensionary. The abbé Gualtier was desired to signify this proceeding to the marquis de Torcy; at the same time to let that minister understand, " that some of the
" above articles ought to be explained." The lord Raby, now earl of Strafford, was directed to tell

the pensionary, " That her majesty, being re-
" solved, in making peace, as in making war, to act
" in perfect concert with the States, would not lose
" a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this
" importance: That the queen earnestly desired,
" that the secret might be kept among as few as
" possible; and that she hoped the pensionary would
" advise upon this occasion, with no person whatso-
" ever, except such, as by the constitution of that
" government, are unavoidably necessary: That the
" terms of the several propositions were indeed too
" general; but, however, they contained an offer to
" treat: And that, although there appeared an air
" of complaisance to England, through the whole
" paper, and the contrary to Holland, yet this could
" have no ill consequence, as long as the queen and
" the States took care to understand each other, and
" to act with as little reserve, as became two powers
" so nearly allied in interest; which rule, on the
" part of Britain, should be inviolably observed."
It was signified likewise to the pensionary, " That
" the duke of Marlborough had no communication
" of this affair from England; and that it was sup-
" posed he would have none from the Hague."

After these proposals had been considered in Holland, the ambassador was directed to send back the opinion of the Dutch ministers upon them. The court here was indeed apprehensive, that the pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of monsieur de Torcy's paper, and particularly at these expressions, " That the English shall have real securities
" for their trade, &c.; and that the barrier for
" the States general shall be such as England shall
" agree upon and approve." It was natural to think,

that the fear which the Dutch would conceive, of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, might put them upon trying underhand for themselves, and endeavouring to overreach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful, in discovering any workings, which might tend that way.

When the lord Raby was first sent to the Hague, the duke of Marlborough and lord Townshend had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavours, to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, and other accounts needless to mention, it was thought proper that his grace, then in Flanders, should not be let into the secret of this affair.

The proposal of Aix or Liege, for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old discontent against Holland, to show they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The pensionary, having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy, to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there, desired the ambassador to return her majesty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the French overtures, for the confidence she placed in the States, and for her promise of making no step towards a peace, but in concert with them; assuring her of the like on their part: "That although the States endea-
"voured to hide it from the enemy, they were as
"weary of the war as we: and very heartily desirous
"of a good and lasting peace, as well as ready to
"join in any method, which her majesty should

" think proper to obtain it: That the States looked " upon these propositions as very dark and general; " and they observed how the enemy would create " jealousies between the queen, their republick, and " the other allies; but they were satisfied it would " have no effect, and relied entirely on the justness " and prudence of her majesty, who, they doubted " not, would make the French explain themselves " more particularly, in the several points of their " proposals, and send a plan of the particular condi- " tions, whereupon they would make a peace; after " which, the States would be ready, either to join " with her majesty, or to make their objections; and " were prepared to bring with them all the facility " imaginable, towards promoting so good a work."

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the pensionary, upon communicating to him the French proposals: and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after; which was more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion not so well discovering the true disposition of the Dutch ministers: for, after the queen had transmitted the French overtures to Holland, and the States found her majesty was bent in earnest upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negotiation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves; as they had done in their own case, both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the interests of their nearest allies. For this reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the British court, with

with expostulations upon the several preliminaries sent from France, monsieur Petecum, a forward meddling agent of Holstein, who had resided some years in Holland, negotiated with Heinsius the grand pensionary, as well as with Vanderdussen and Buys, about restoring the conferences between France and that republick, broken off in Gertruydenberg; pursuant to which, about the end of May, N. S. 1711, Petecum wrote to the marquis de Torcy, with the privity of the pensionary, and probably of the other two. The substance of his letter was, to inform the marquis, "That things might easily be disposed, so "as to settle a correspondence between that crown "and the republick, in order to renew the treaty of "peace: That this could be done with the greater "secrecy, because monsieur Heinsius, by virtue of "his oath as pensionary, might keep any affair pri-"vate, as long as he thought necessary, and was not "obliged to communicate it, until he believed "things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it "from his masters, he was not bound to discover it, "either to the ministers of the emperor, or those of "her British majesty: That since England thought "it proper for king Charles, to continue the whole "campaign in Catalonia (though he should be "chosen emperor) in order to support the war in "Spain, it was necessary for France to treat in the "most secret manner with the States, who were not "now, so violently as formerly, against having "Philip on the Spanish throne, upon certain condi-"tions for securing their trade; but were jealous of "England's design, to fortify some trading towns in "Spain for themselves: That Heinsius extremely "desired to get out of the war, for some reasons which

" which he (Petecum) was not permitted to tell; and " that Vanderdussen and Buys were impatient to have " the negotiations with France, once more set on " foot; which if monsieur Torcy thought fit to con- " sent to, Petecum engaged that the States would " determine to settle the preliminaries, in the mid- " way between Paris and the Hague, with whatever " ministers the most Christian king should please to " employ."

Monsieur Torcy refused this overture; and in his answer to monsieur Petecum, assigned for the reason, the treatment his master's former proposals had met with, at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, from the ministers of Holland. Britain and Holland seemed pretty well agreed, that those proposals were too loose and imperfect, to be a foundation for entering upon a general treaty; and monsieur Gualtier was desired to signify to the French court, " That it was " expected they should explain themselves more " particularly, on the several articles."

But in the mean time, the queen was firmly resolved, that the interests of her own kingdoms, should not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the Dutch were principal managers of a negotiation with France. Her majesty had given frequent, and early notice to the States, of the general disposition of her people toward a peace, of her own inability to continue the war, upon the old foot, under the disadvantage of unequal quotas, and the universal backwardness of her allies. She had likewise informed them of several advances made to her on the side of France; which she had refused to hearken to, till she had consulted with those her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion

opinion on that subject. But the Dutch, who apprehended nothing more than to see Britain at the head of a treaty, were backward and sullen, disliked all proposals by the queen's intervention, and said, "It was a piece of artifice in France, to divide the "allies." Besides, they knew the ministry was young; and the opposite faction had given them assurances, "That the people of England would "never endure a peace without Spain, nor the men "in power dare to attempt it, after the resolutions of "one house of parliament to the contrary." But, in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from France by the queen's hands, the Dutch ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court; where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reason of those factions which themselves had inflamed; and were ready to commence a negotiation upon much easier terms, than what they supposed we demanded. For, not to mention the duke of Lorrain's interposition in behalf of Holland, which France absolutely refused to accept; the letters sent from the Dutch to that court, were shown some months after to a British minister there, which gave much weight to monsieur de Torcy's insinuations, "That he knew where to meet "with more compliance, if the necessity of affairs "should force him to it by our refusal." And the violence of the States against our entertaining that correspondence, was, only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

The queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared such demands for her principal allies, as might be

be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjust their several interests; she resolved to stipulate in a particular manner the advantage of Britain. The following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be transmitted to France:

"Great Britain will not enter into any negotiation "of peace, otherwise than upon these conditions "obtained beforehand.

"That the union of the two crowns of France "and Spain shall be prevented: That satisfaction "shall be given to all the allies, and trade settled "and maintained.

"If France be disposed to treat upon this view, "it is not to be doubted that the following propositions will be found reasonable:

"A barrier shall be formed in the Low Countries "for the States General; and their trade shall be "secured.

"A barrier likewise shall be formed for the "Empire.

"The pretensions of all the allies, founded upon "former treaties, shall be regulated and determined "to their general satisfaction.

"In order to make a more equal balance of "power in Italy, the dominions and territories, "which in the beginning of the present war belonged to the duke of Savoy, and are now in the "possession of France, shall be restored to his royal "highness; and such other places in Italy shall be "yielded to him, as will be found necessary and "agreeable to the sense of former treaties, made "with this prince.

"As to Great Britain in particular, the succession

"to

" to the crown of the kingdoms, according to the " present establishment, shall be acknowledged.

" A new treaty of commerce between Great " Britain and France shall be made, after the most " just and reasonable manner.

" Dunkirk shall be demolished.

" Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, shall remain in the " hands of the present possessors.

" The English shall have the assiento, in the " same manner the French now enjoy it; and such " places in the Spanish West Indies, shall be assign- " ed to those concerned in this traffick, for the re- " freshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be " found necessary and convenient.

" All advantages, rights, and privileges, already " granted, and which may hereafter be granted, by " Spain, to the subjects of France, or to any other " nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to the " subjects of Great Britain.

" And, for better securing the British trade in the " Spanish West Indies, certain places to be named " in the treaty of peace, shall be put into possession " of the English.

" Newfoundland, with the Bay and Straits of " Hudson, shall be entirely restored to the English; " and Great Britain and France shall severally keep " and possess, all those countries and territories in " North America, which each of the said nations " shall be in possession of, at the time when the " ratification of this treaty, shall be published in " those parts of the world.

" These demands, and all other proceedings be- " tween Great Britain and France, shall be kept

" inviolably

" inviolably secret, until they are published by the " mutual consent of both parties."

The last article was not only intended for avoiding, if possible, the jealousy of the Dutch, but to prevent the clamours of the abettors here at home; who, under the pretended fears of our doing injustice to the Dutch, by acting without the privity of that republick, in order to make a separate peace, would be ready to drive on the worst designs against the queen and ministry, in order to recover the power they had lost.

In June, 1711, Mr. Prior, a person of great distinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the French court, was dispatched thither by her majesty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at Versailles with great civility. The king declared, " That no proceeding in order to a general " treaty would be so agreeable to him, as by the " intervention of England; and that his majesty, " being desirous to contribute with all his power, " towards the repose of Europe, did answer to the " demands which had been made.

" That he would consent freely and sincerely, to " all just and reasonable methods, for hindering the " crowns of France and Spain from being ever " united under the same prince; his majesty being " persuaded that such an excess of power would be " as contrary to the general good and repose of " Europe, as it was opposite to the will of the late " catholick king Charles the Second." He said, " His intention was, that all parties in the present

" war

" war should find their reasonable satisfaction in the " intended treaty of peace; and that trade should " be settled, and maintained for the future, to the " advantage of those nations which formerly pos- " sessed it.

" That as the king will exactly observe the con- " ditions of peace, whenever it shall be concluded; " and as the object he proposes to himself is, to " secure the frontiers of his own kingdom, without " giving any sort of disturbance to his neighbours; " he promises to agree, that by the future treaty of " peace, the Dutch shall be put into possession of " all such fortified places, as shall be specified in " the said treaty, to serve for a barrier to that re- " publick, against all attempts on the side of France. " He engages likewise, to give all necessary securi- " ties, for removing the jealousies raised among the " German princes, of his Majesty's designs.

" That when the conferences in order to a ge- " neral treaty shall be formed, all the pretensions " of the several princes, and states, engaged in the " present war, shall be fairly and amicably discussed; " nor shall any thing be omitted, which may regu- " late and determine them to the satisfaction of all " parties.

" That pursuant to the demands made by Eng- " land, his majesty promises to restore to the duke of " Savoy, those demesnes and territories which be- " longed to that prince, at the beginning of this war, " and which his majesty is now in possession of; " and the king consents farther, that such other " places in Italy shall be yielded to the duke of " Savoy, as shall be found necessary, according to

" the sense of those treaties, made between the said " duke and his allies.

" That the king's sentiments of the present go- " vernment of Great Britain, the open declaration " he made in Holland, of his resolution to treat of " peace by applications to the English, the assur- " ances he had given of engaging the king of Spain " to leave Gibraltar in their hands, (all which are " convincing proofs of his perfect esteem for a na- " tion still in war with him) leave no room to doubt " of his majesty's inclination, to give England all " securities and advantages for their trade, which " they can reasonably demand. But, as his majesty " cannot persuade himself that a government so " clear-sighted as ours, will insist upon conditions " which must absolutely destroy the trade of France " and Spain, as well as that of all other nations of " Europe, he thinks the demands made by Great " Britain may require a more particular discussion.

" That upon this foundation, the king thought " the best way of advancing and perfecting a ne- " gotiation, the beginning of which he had seen " with so much satisfaction, would be, to send into " England a person instructed in his intention, and " authorized by him to agree upon securities for " settling the trade of the subjects of England, and " those particular advantages to be stipulated in " their favour, without destroying the trade of the " French and Spaniards, or of other nations in " Christendom.

" That therefore his majesty had charged the " person chosen for this commission, to answer the " other articles of the memorial given him by Mr. Prior,

" Prior, the secret of which should be exactly ob-
" served."

Mons. De Torcy had, for some years past, used all his endeavours to incline his master toward a peace, pursuant to the maxim of his uncle Colbert, " That a long war was not for the interest of France." It was for this reason, the king made choice of him in the conferences at the Hague; the bad success whereof, although it filled him with resentments against the Dutch, did not alter his opinion: but he was violently opposed by a party, both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the glory of the prince and country, by too large concessions; or perhaps would rather wish that the first offers should have been still made to the Dutch, as a people more likely to be less solicitous about the interest of Britain, than her majesty would certainly be for theirs; and the particular design of Mr. Prior was, to find out whether that minister had credit enough with his prince, and a support from others in power, sufficient to overrule the faction against peace.

Mr. Prior's journey could not be kept a secret, as the court here at first seemed to intend it. He was discovered, at his return, by an officer of the port at Dover, where he landed, after six weeks absence*; upon which, the Dutch Gazettes, and English newspapers, were full of speculations.

At the same time with Mr. Prior there arrived from France Mons. Mesnager†, knight of the order of St. Michael, and one of the council of trade to

* Reckoning from the date of his instructions (July 1). He left his own house July 11, and arrived in London again Aug. 7. O. S.

† He arrived in London, Aug. 7, O. S.

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the most Christian king. His commission was in general, empowering him to treat with the minister of any prince, engaged in the war against his master. In his first conferences with the queen's ministers, he pretended orders to insist that her majesty should enter upon particular engagements in several articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the interest of the allies, reciprocally with those of the most Christian king: whereas the negotiation had begun upon this principle, That France should consent to adjust the interests of Great Britain in the first place, whereby her majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen resolved, never to depart from this principle: but was absolutely determined to remit the particular interests of the allies, to general conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the repose of Europe, and the satisfaction of all parties. It was plain, France could run no hazard by this proceeding, because the preliminary articles would have no force, before a general peace was signed: therefore it was not doubted but mons. Mesnager would have orders to wave this new pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot, which was at first proposed. In short, the ministers required a positive and speedy answer, to the articles in question; since they contained only such advantages and securities, as her majesty thought she had a right to require from any prince whatsoever, to whom the dominions of Spain should happen to fall.

The particular demands of Britain were formed into eight articles; which mons. Mesnager having

transmitted to his court, and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his master's consent, by way of answers to the several points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. These demands, together with the answers of the French king, were drawn up and signed by mons. Mesnager, and her majesty's two principal secretaries of state; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In the preamble, the most Christian king sets forth, "That, being particularly informed, by the "last memorial which the British ministers delivered "to mons. Mesnager, of the dispositions of this "crown to facilitate a general peace, to the satis-"faction of the several parties concerned; and his "majesty finding, in effect, as the said memorial "declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging "himself in the manner there expressed, since the "preliminary articles will be of no force, until the "signing of the general peace; and being sincerely "desirous to advance to the utmost of his power the "repose of Europe, especially by a way so agree-"able as the interposition of a princess, whom so "many ties of blood ought to unite to him, and "whose sentiments for the publick tranquillity can-"not be doubted; his majesty, moved by these "considerations, has ordered mons. Mesnager, knight, "&c. to give the following answers, in writing, to "the articles contained in the memorial transmitted "to him, entitled, Preliminary Demands for Great "Britain in particular."

The articles were these that follow:

"First, The succession to the crown to be ac-"knowledged, according to the present establish-"ment.

" Secondly, A new treaty of commerce between " Great Britain and France to be made, after the " most just and reasonable manner.

" Thirdly, Dunkirk to be demolished.

" Fourthly, Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to con- " tinue in the hands of those who now possess " them.

" Fifthly, The assiento (or liberty of selling Ne- " groes to the Spanish West Indies) to be granted " to the English, in as full manner as the French " possess it at present; and such places in the said " West Indies to be assigned to the persons con- " cerned in this trade, for the refreshment and sale " of their Negroes, as shall be found necessary and " convenient.

" Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges, and " rights, are already, or may hereafter be, granted " by Spain to the subjects of France, or any other " nation, shall be equally granted to the subjects of " Great Britain.

" Seventhly, For better protecting their trade in " the Spanish West Indies, the English shall be " put into possession of such places, as shall be " named in the treaty of peace: or, as an equiva- " lent for this article, that the assiento be granted " Britain for the term of thirty years.

" That the isle of St. Christopher's be likewise " secured to the English.

" That the advantages and exemption from duties, " promised by mons. Mesnager, which he affirms " will amount to fifteen per cent upon all goods of " the growth and manufacture of Great Britain, be " effectually allowed.

" That whereas, on the side of the river of Plate, " the

" the English are not in possession of any colony, a " certain extent of territory be allowed them on the " said river, for refreshing and keeping their Ne- " groes, till they are sold to the Spaniards; subject " nevertheless to the inspection of an officer ap- " pointed by Spain.

" Eighthly, Newfoundland, and the Bay and " Straits of Hudson, shall be entirely restored to " the English; and Great Britain and France shall " respectively keep whatever dominions, in North " America, each of them shall be in possession of, " when the ratification of this treaty shall be pub- " lished in those parts of the world."

The six first articles were allowed, without any difficulty, except that about Dunkirk, where France was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty.

A difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the French insisted to have the power of fishing for cod, and drying them on the island of Newfoundland.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the most Christian king consented to allow; and whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace should be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies; the next thing in order was, to procure from France such preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to com-

mence a general treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same day with the former; and, having been delivered to the several ministers residing here, from the powers in alliance with England, were quickly made publick. But the various constructions and censures which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript:

" The king being willing to contribute all that is " in his power to the reestablishing of the general " peace; his majesty declares,

" 1. That he will acknowledge the queen of " Great Britain in that quality, as also the succession " of that crown according to the settlement.

" 2. That he will freely and *bonâ fide* consent to " the taking all just and reasonable measures, for " hindering that the crowns of France and Spain, " may ever be united on the head of the same " prince; his majesty being persuaded, that this " excess of power would be contrary to the good and " quiet of Europe.

" 3. The king's intention is, that all the parties " engaged in the present war, without excepting any " of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction, in " the treaty of peace which shall be made; that " commerce may be reestablished and maintained " for the future, to the advantage of Great Britain, " of Holland, and of the other nations who have " been accustomed to exercise commerce.

" 4. As the king will likewise maintain exactly " the observance of the peace when it shall be con- " cluded; and the object the king proposes to him- " self being to secure the frontiers of his kingdom, " without disturbing in any manner whatever the

" neighbouring

" neighbouring states; he promises to agree, by the " treaty which shall be made, that the Dutch shall " be put in possession of the fortified places which " shall be mentioned in the Netherlands, to serve " hereafter for a barrier, which may secure the quiet " of the republick of Holland against any enterprise " from the part of France.

" 5. The king consents likewise, that a secure " and convenient barrier should be formed for the " empire, and for the house of Austria.

" 6. Notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the king very " great sums, as well to purchase it, as to fortify it; " and that it is farther necessary to be at very con- " siderable expense for razing the works; his ma- " jesty is willing, however, to engage to cause them " to be demolished immediately after the conclusion " of the peace, on condition, that for the fortifica- " tions of that place, a proper equivalent, that may " content him, be given him: and as England can- " not furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it " shall be referred to the conferences to be held for " the negotiation of the peace.

" 7. When the conferences for the negotiation of " the peace shall be formed, all the pretensions " of the princes and states engaged in the present " war shall be therein discussed *bonâ fide* and ami- " cably: and nothing shall be omitted, to regulate " and terminate them to the satisfaction of all the " parties.

" MESNAGER."

These overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance made in 1701, wherein are contained the conditions without which a peace

is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point proposed in that article, which those who censured them at home, if they spoke their thoughts, did not understand: for nothing can be plainer than what the publick has often been told, "That the recovery "of Spain from the house of Bourbon, was a thing "never imagined when the war began, but a just "and reasonable satisfaction to the emperor." Much less ought such a condition to be held necessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable; but likewise, because, by the changes in the Austrian and Bourbon families, it would not be safe: neither did those who were loudest in blaming the French preliminaries, know any thing of the advantages privately stipulated for Britain, whose interests they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers; and therefore, because the opposers of peace, have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the Dutch.

The lord Raby, her majesty's ambassador at the Hague, having made a short journey to England, where he was created earl of Strafford, went back to Holland about the beginning of October, 1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the pensionary, and other ministers of the States. The earl was instructed to let them know, "That the queen had, according to their "desire, returned an answer to the first propositions "signed by mons. Torcy, signifying, that the "French offers were thought, both by her majesty "and the States, neither so particular nor so full

"as

" as they ought to be ; and insisting to have a dis-
" tinct project formed, of such a peace as the most
" Christian king would be willing to conclude :
" That this affair having been for some time trans-
" acted by papers, and thereby subject to delays,
" mons. Mesnager was at length sent over by France,
" and had signed those preliminaries now communi-
" cated to them: That the several articles did not, in-
" deed, contain such particular concessions as France
" must and will make in the course of a treaty ; but
" that however, her majesty thought them a suf-
" ficient foundation whereon to open the general
" conferences.

" That her majesty was unwilling to be charged
" with determining the several interests of her allies,
" and therefore contented herself with such general
" offers, as might include all the particular de-
" mands, proper to be made during the treaty ;
" where the confederates must resolve to adhere
" firmly together, in order to obtain from the
" enemy the utmost that could be hoped for in the
" present circumstances of affairs ; which rule, her
" majesty assured the States, she would, on her
" part, firmly observe."

If the ministers of Holland should express any uneasiness, that her majesty may have settled the interest of her own kingdoms, in a future peace, by any private agreement; the ambassador was ordered to say, " That the queen had hitherto refused to have
" the treaty carried on in her own kingdom, and
" would continue to do so, unless they (the Dutch)
" constrained her to take another measure : That
" by these means, the States, and the rest of the
" allies, would have the opportunity of treating and

" adjusting

" adjusting their different pretensions; which her " majesty would promote with all the zeal she had " shown for the common good, and the particular " advantage of that republick, (as they must do " her the justice to confess) in the whole course of " her reign: That the queen had made no stipula- " tion for herself, which might clash with the in- " terests of Holland: And that the articles to be " inserted in a future treaty, for the benefit of Britain, " were, for the most part, such as contained ad- " vantages, which must either be continued to the " enemy, or be obtained by her majesty; but, how- " ever, that no concession should tempt her to " hearken to a peace, unless her good friends and " allies, the States General, had all reasonable satis- " faction as to their trade, and barrier, as well as in " all other respects."

After these assurances given in the queen's name, the earl was to insinuate, " That her majesty should " have just reason to be offended, and to think " the proceedings between her and the States very " unequal, if they should pretend to have any " farther uneasiness upon this head: That being " determined to accept no advantages to herself " repugnant to their interests, nor any peace without " their reasonable satisfaction, the figure she had " made during the whole course of the war, and " the part she had acted superiour to any of the " allies, who were more concerned in danger and " interest, might justly entitle her to settle the con- " cerns of Great Britain, before she would consent " to a general negotiation."

If the States should object the engagements the queen was under by treaties, of making no peace but

but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the Barrier-treaty; the ambassador was to answer, "That as to the former, her majesty had "not in any sort acted contrary thereto: That she "was so far from making a peace without their "consent, as to declare her firm resolution not to "make it without their satisfaction; and that what "had passed between France and her, amounted "to no more than an introduction to a general "treaty." As to the latter, the earl had orders to represent very earnestly, "How much it was "even for the interest of Holland itself, rather to "compound the advantage of the Barrier-treaty, "than to insist upon the whole, which the house "of Austria, and several other allies, would never "consent to: That nothing could be more odious "to the people of England than many parts of this "treaty; which would have raised universal indignation, if the utmost care had not been taken "to quiet the minds of those who were acquainted "with the terms of that guaranty, and to conceal "them from those who were not: That it was absolutely necessary to maintain a good harmony "between both nations, without which it would be "impossible at any time to form a strength for reducing an exorbitant power, or preserving the "balance of Europe; whence it followed, that it "could not be the true interest of either country, to "insist upon any conditions, which might give just "apprehension to the other.

"That France had proposed Utrecht, Nimeguen, "Aix, or Liege, wherein to hold the general treaty; "and her majesty was ready to send her plenipo-

"tentiaries

" tentiaries to whichever of those towns the States " should approve."

If the Imperial ministers, or those of the other allies, should object against the preliminaries as no sufficient ground for opening the conferences, and insist that France should consent to such articles as were signed on the part of the allies in the year 1709; the earl of Strafford was, in answer, directed to insinuate, " That the French might have pro- " bably been brought to explain themselves more " particularly, had they not perceived the un- " easiness, impatience, and jealousy among the " allies, during our transactions with that court." However, he should declare to them, in the queen's name, " That, if they were determined to accept " of peace upon no terms inferiour to what was for- " merly demanded, her majesty was ready to con- " cur with them; but would no longer bear those " disproportions of expense yearly increased upon " her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in " every part of the war: That it was therefore in- " cumbent upon them to furnish, for the future, " such quotas of ships and forces as they were now " wanting in, and to increase their expense, while " her majesty reduced hers to a reasonable and just " proportion."

That, if the ministers of Vienna and Holland should urge their inability upon this head, the queen insisted, " They ought to comply with her " in war or in peace; her majesty desiring nothing as " to the first, but what they ought to perform, and " what is absolutely necessary: and as to the latter, " that she had done, and would continue to do, the " utmost

" utmost in her power towards obtaining such a " peace, as might be to the satisfaction of all her " allies."

Some days after the earl of Strafford's departure to Holland, mons. Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, arrived here from thence, with instructions from his masters, to treat upon the subject of the French preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of council, he objected against all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them, as prejudicial. He said, " The French promising that " trade should be reestablished and maintained for " the future, was meant in order to deprive the " Dutch of their tariff of 1604; for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the " word *rétablir*, to signify no more than restoring the " trade of the States to the condition it was in im- " mediately before the commencement of the pre- " sent war." He said, " That in the article of Dun- " kirk, the destruction of the harbour was not men- " tioned; and that the fortifications were only to be " razed upon condition of an equivalent, which " might occasion a difference between her majesty " and the States; since Holland would think it " hard to have a town less in their barrier for the " demolition of Dunkirk; and England would com- " plain, to have this thorn continue in their side, for " the sake of giving one town more to the Dutch."

Lastly, he objected, " That where the French " promised effectual methods should be taken to " prevent the union of France and Spain under the " same king, they offered nothing at all for the

" cession

" cession of Spain, which was the most important " point of the war.

" For these reasons, mons. Buys hoped her ma- " jesty would alter her measures, and demand spe- " cifick articles, upon which the allies might debate, " whether they would consent to a negotiation or " not."

The queen, who looked upon all these difficulties raised about the method of treating, as endeavours to wrest the negotiation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to let mons. Buys know, " That the experience she formerly " had, of proceeding by particular preliminaries " toward a general treaty, gave her no encourage- " ment to repeat the same method any more: That " such a preliminary treaty must be negotiated either " by some particular allies, or by all; the first, her " majesty could never suffer, since she would neither " take upon her to settle the interest of others, nor " submit that others should settle those of her own " kingdoms; as to the second, it was liable to mons. " Buys's objection, because the ministers of France " would have as fair an opportunity of sowing division " among the allies, when they were all assembled " upon a preliminary treaty, as when the conferences " were open for a negotiation of peace: That this " method could therefore have no other effect than " to delay the treaty, without any advantage: That " her majesty was heartily disposed, both then, and " during the negotiation, to insist on every thing " necessary for securing the barrier and commerce " of the States; and therefore hoped the conferences " might be opened, without farther difficulties.

" That

" That her majesty did not only consent, but de-
" sire, to have a plan settled for carrying on the war,
" as soon as the negotiation of peace should begin;
" but expected to have the burden more equally
" laid, and more agreeable * to treaties: and would
" join with the States in pressing the allies to per-
" form their parts, as she had endeavoured to animate
" them by her example."

Mons. Buys seemed to know little of his masters mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon any thing. Her majesty's minister proposed to him an alliance between the two nations, to subsist after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily; and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out, if possible, the whole secret of the transactions between Britain and France; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his masters to any conditions; to seek delays till the parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the issue of those frequent cabals between himself and some other foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the discontented faction.

The Dutch hoped, that the clamours raised against the proceedings of the queen's ministers toward a peace, would make the parliament disapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the head of the negotiation, which the queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miscarried twice already; although prince

* It should be—'more *agreeably* to treaties,' to correspond with the other adverb—'more *equally*.'

Eugene

Eugene himself owned, "That France was then "disposed to conclude a peace upon such condi- "tions, that it was not worth the life of a grenadier "to refuse them." As to insisting upon specifick preliminaries, her majesty thought her own method much better, "for each ally, in the course of the "negotiation, to advance and manage his own pre- "tensions, wherein she would support and assist "them:" rather than for two ministers of one ally, to treat solely with the enemy, and report what they pleased to the rest, as was practised by the Dutch at Gertruydenberg.

One part of mons. Buys's instructions was, "To "desire the queen not to be so far amused by a "treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for "war against the next campaign." Her majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting any longer to that unequal burden of expense she had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. secretary St. John to debate the matter with that minister; who said, "He had no power to treat;" only insisted, "that his masters had fully done their part; and "that nothing but exhortations could be used, to "prevail on the other allies to act with greater "vigour."

On the other side, the queen refused to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; which, therefore, by mons. Buys's application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in Holland upon the 21st of November, 1711, N. S.

About this time the count de Gallas was forbid the court, by order from the queen; who sent him word,

word, "that she looked upon him no longer as a "publick minister."

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable part here in England, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and present emperors; two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of king of Spain. Count Gallas, about the end of August, 1711, with the utmost privacy, dispatched an Italian, one of his clerks, to Franckfort, where the earl of Peterborough was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a Spaniard, and insinuate himself into the earl's service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last emperor's secretary at Franckfort, of all he could gather up in his lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered that Gallas had, in his dispatches to the present emperor, then in Spain, represented the queen and her ministers as not to be confided in: "That when her "majesty had dismissed the earl of Sunderland, she "promised to proceed no farther in the change of "her servants; yet soon after turned them all out, "and thereby ruined the publick credit, as well as "abandoned Spain: That the present ministers "wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the "former; were persons of ill designs, and enemies "to the common cause, and he (Gallas) could not "trust them." In his letters to count Zinzendorf, he said, "That Mr. secretary St. John complained "of the house of Austria's backwardness, only to "make the king of Spain odious to England, and "the people here desirous of a peace, although it

" were ever so bad ;" to prevent which, count Gallas drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and transmitted a draught of it to Zinzendorf for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promises to encourage the continuance of the war, proposed the detaching of a good body of troops from Hungary, to serve in Italy or Spain, as the queen should think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a step, without consulting the emperor : to which Gallas replied, " That his design was only to engage the queen to " go on with the war : That Zinzendorf knew how " earnestly the English and Dutch had pressed to " have these troops from Hungary ; and therefore " they ought to be promised, in order to quiet " those two nations ; after which, several ways " might be found to elude that promise ; and in " the mean time, the great point would be gained, " of bringing the English to declare for continuing " the war : That the emperor might afterwards ex- " cuse himself, by the apprehension of a war in " Hungary, or of that between the Turks and " Muscovites. That if these excuses should be at " an end, a detachment of one or two regiments " might be sent, and the rest deferred by pretend- " ing want of money ; by which the queen would " probably be brought to maintain some part of " those troops, and perhaps the whole body." He added, " That this way of management was very " common among the allies ;" and gave for an example, the forces which the Dutch had promised for the service of Spain, but were never sent ; with several other instances of the same kind, which, he said, might be produced.

Her

Her majesty, who had long suspected that count Gallas was engaged in these and the like practices, having at last received authentick proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters, and the voluntary confession of those who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to show her resentment, by refusing the count any more access to her person or her court.

Although the queen, as it has been already observed, was resolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries; yet she thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmost concessions which France would make to the several allies, but especially to the States General, and the duke of Savoy. Therefore, while her majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general treaty, the abbé Gualtier was sent to France, with a memorial, to desire that the most Christian king would explain himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with relation to Savoy and Holland, whose satisfaction the queen had most at heart; as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them, that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The French answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the elector of Bavaria, for whose interests France appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for those of the duke of

Savoy. However, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majesty and that republick:

" That the congress should be held at Utrecht.

" That the opening of the congress should be " upon the 12th of January, N. S. 1711-12.

" That, for avoiding all inconveniences of cere- " mony, the ministers of the queen and States, " during the treaty, should only have the characters " of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of ambas- " sadors, till the day on which the peace should be " signed.

" Lastly, The queen and States insisted, that the " ministers of the duke of Anjou, and the late " electors of Bavaria and Cologne, should not ap- " pear at the congress, until the points relating to " their masters were adjusted; and were firmly re- " solved not to send their passports for the ministers " of France, till the most Christian king declared, " that the absence of the forementioned ministers " should not delay the progress of the negotia- " tion."

Pursuant to the three former articles, her majesty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the present war; and France had notice, " That, as soon as the king declared his compliance " with the last article, the blank passports should " be filled up with the names of the mareschal " D'Uxelles, the abbé De Polignac, and mons. " Mesnager, who were appointed plenipotentiaries " for that crown."

From

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader sees the plan which the queen thought the most effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the queen was to be empowered by France, to offer separately to the allies, what might be reasonable for each to accept; and her own interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general mediator; a figure that became her best, from the part she had in the war, and more useful to the great end at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable peace to Europe.

Besides, it was absolutely necessary for the interests of Britain, that the queen should be at the head of the negotiation; without which, her majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier-treaty. In order to settle this point with the States, the ministers here had a conference with mons. Buys, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "How necessary it was, by a previous concert be- "tween the emperor, the queen, and the States, to "prevent any difference which might arise in the "course of the treaty at Utrecht: That under pre- "tence of a barrier for the States General, as their "security against France, infinite prejudice might "arise to the trade of Britain in the Spanish Nether- "lands; for, by the fifteenth article of the Barrier- "treaty, in consequence of what was stipulated by "that of Munster, the queen was brought to engage "that commerce shall not be rendered more easy, "in point of duties, by the sea-ports of Flanders, "than it is by the river Scheld, and by the canals "on the side of the Seven Provinces; which, as

" things now stood, was very unjust; for, while the " towns in Flanders were in the hands of France or " Spain, the Dutch and we traded to them upon " equal foot; but now, since by the Barrier-treaty " those towns were to be possessed by the States, " that republick might lay what duties they pleased " upon British goods, after passing by Ostend, and " make their own custom-free, which would utterly " ruin our whole trade with Flanders."

Upon this, the lords told mons. Buys very frankly, " That, if the States expected the queen should " support their barrier, as their demands from France " and the house of Austria upon that head, they " ought to agree that the subjects of Britain should " trade as freely to all the countries and places, which, " by virtue of any former or future treaty, were to " become the barrier of the States, as they did in the " time of the late king Charles the Second of Spain, " or as the subjects of the States General themselves " shall do: and it is hoped, their Highmightinesses " would never scruple to rectify a mistake so injurious to that nation, without whose blood and " treasure they would have had no barrier at all." Mons. Buys had nothing to answer against these objections; but said, " He had already wrote * to " his masters for farther instructions."

Greater difficulties occurred about settling what should be the barrier to the States after a peace: the envoy insisting to have all the towns that were named in the treaty of barrier and succession; and the queen's ministers excepting those towns, which,

* 'He had already wrote,' &c. It should be,—'He had already written,' &c.

if

if they continued in the hands of the Dutch, would render the trade of Britain to Flanders precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really essential to the security of their barrier against France; and that some amicable expedient should be found, for removing the fears both of Britain and Holland upon this point.

But at the same time mons. Buys was told, "That, "although the queen would certainly insist to obtain "all those points from France, in behalf of her "allies, the States; yet she hoped his masters were "too reasonable to break off the treaty, rather than "not obtain the very utmost of their demands, "which could not be settled here, unless he were "fully instructed to speak and conclude upon that "subject: That her majesty thought the best way "of securing the common interest, and preventing "the division of the allies, by the artifices of France, "in the course of a long negotiation, would be, to "concert between the queen's ministers and those "of the States, with a due regard to the other con-"federates, such a plan, as might amount to a safe "and honourable peace. After which, the abbé "Polignac, who, of the French plenipotentiaries, "was most in the secret of his court, might be told, "that it was in vain to amuse each other any longer; "that on such terms the peace would be immediately "concluded; and that the conferences must cease, "if those conditions were not, without delay, and "with expedition, granted."

A treaty between her majesty and the States, to subsist after a peace, was now signed, mons. Buys having received full powers to that purpose. His

masters were desirous to have a private article added, *sub spe rati*, concerning those terms of peace; without the granting of which, we should stipulate not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of Buys, nor the manner in which he was empowered to treat, would allow the queen to enter into such an engagement. The congress likewise approaching, there was not time to settle a point of so great importance. Neither lastly, would her majesty be tied down by Holland, without previous satisfaction upon several articles in the Barrier-treaty, so inconsistent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance, and so injurious to her own kingdoms.

The lord privy seal and the earl of Strafford, having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her majesty's plenipotentiaries for treating on a general peace: I shall here break off the account of any farther progress made in that great affair, until I resume it in the last book of this History.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK III.

THE house of commons seemed resolved, from the beginning of the session, to inquire strictly, not only into all abuses relating to the accounts of the army, but likewise into the several treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first week of their sitting, they sent an address to the queen, to desire that the treaty, whereby her majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the Low Countries, might be laid before the house. To which the secretary of state brought an answer, "That search had been made, "but no footsteps could be found of any treaty or "convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former ministry, which first gave a pretence to the allies for lessening their quotas,

quotas, so much to the disadvantage of her majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated, by the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and the States, "That those three states should assist each other "with their whole force; and that the several pro- "portions should be specified in a particular con- "vention." But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common consent, to take each a certain share of the burden upon themselves, which the late king William communicated to the house of commons by his secretary of state; and which afterwards, the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the publick accompts of the kingdom, had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army; which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the house.

The commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. Robert Walpole, already mentioned p. 43; who, during his being secretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the queen's troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavoured to excuse the first contract; but had nothing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption, committed him prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the session,

and

and expelled him the house. He was a person much caressed by the opposers of the queen and ministry; having been first drawn into their party, by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards, kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in publick, has justly entitled him, among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader in the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another part of the report concerned the duke of Marlborough, who had received large sums of money, by way of gratuity, from those who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the duke excused, in a letter to the commissioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuse appeared to be of little weight, and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough; since the money given by these undertakers, were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And, as frauds that begin at the top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks of those who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate; so, in this case, for every thousand pounds given to the general, the soldiers at least suffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the duke, was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her majesty's forces in Flanders, were mercenary troops, hired from several princes of Europe. It was found that the queen's general subtracted two and half *per cent* out of the pay of those

those troops, for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The duke of Marlborough, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That "this deduction was a free gift from the foreign "troops, which he had negotiated with them by "the late king's orders, and had obtained the "queen's warrant for reserving and receiving it: "That it was intended for secret service, the ten "thousand pounds a year given by parliament not "proving sufficient; and had all been laid out that "way." The commissioners observed, in answer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for nine "years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the "secretary of state's books, and the deduction of "it concealed all that time from the knowledge of "parliament: That if it had been a free gift from "the foreign troops, it would not have been stipu-"lated by agreement, as the duke's letter con-"fessed, and as his warrant declared; which latter "affirmed this stoppage to be intended for defray-"ing extraordinary contingent expenses of the "troops, and therefore should not have been ap-"plied to secret services." They submitted to the house, whether the warrant itself were legal, or duly countersigned. The commissioners added, "That "no receipt was ever given for this deducted money; "nor was it mentioned in any receipts from the "foreign troops, which were always taken in full. "And lastly, That the whole sum, on computa-"tion, amounted to near three hundred thousand "pounds."

The house, after a long debate, resolved, "That "the taking several sums from the contractors for "bread

" bread for the duke of Marlborough, was un-
" warrantable and illegal; and that the two and a
" half *per cent* deducted from the foreign troops,
" was publick money, and ought to be accounted
" for:" which resolutions were laid before the queen by the whole house, and her majesty promised to do her part in redressing what was complained of. The duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the queen, procured a warrant from her majesty for this perquisite of two and a half *per cent*. The warrant was directed to the duke of Marlborough, and countersigned by sir Charles Hedges, then secretary of state; by virtue of which, the paymaster-general of the army was to pay the said deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was observed, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few personal reflections upon the duke of Marlborough. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which, they could not answer the trust reposed in them by those whom they represented; and left the rest to her majesty's prudence. The attorney general was ordered to commence an action against the duke for the subtracted money; which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person, except himself. This process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted; or, perhaps, to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some

Some time after, Mr. Cardonnell*, a member of parliament, and secretary to the general in Flanders, was expelled the house, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army; and met with no farther punishment for a practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

These were all the censures of any moment, which the commons, under so great a weight of business, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commissioners for inspecting the publick accompts. But having promised, in the beginning of this history, to examine the state of the nation, with respect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they first began, and in process of time made such a prodigious increase; and lastly, what courses have been taken, under the present administration, to find out funds for answering so many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a stop to new ones; I shall endeavour to satisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the history of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debts, secured upon parliamentary funds of interest, were things unknown in England, before the last revolution under the prince of Orange. It is true, that in the grand rebellion the king's enemies borrowed money of particular persons, upon what they called the publick faith; but this was only for short periods, and the sums no more than what

* James Cardonnell, esq. was turned out from being a commissioner of the salt-office, April 8, 1713.

they

they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuse in peace and war, and are blamed in history for their oppressions of the people by severe taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid: but *national debts* was a style, which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the prince of Orange was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of Europe, the king and his counsellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought: wherefore one of the first actions of the new government was, to take off the tax upon chimneys, as a burden very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to support the war, (which even the convention parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in) the present bishop of Salisbury*, is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in Holland) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project, were many, and plausible; for, supposing as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those, whose money, by the danger

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

and

and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government, would, by surest principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on their lands, which custom has since made so familiar: and it was the business of such as were then in power, to cultivate a monied interest; because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the king, who had imbibed his politicks in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither, perhaps, did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all; since the flourishing republick where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able, or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to mons. Buys the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, "That it was for the interest of the publick "to be in debt;" which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about. But to prescribe the same rules to a monarch, whose wealth arises from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon publick funds of interest, as well as some other state lessons, were taken indigested from the like practices among the Dutch, without allowing

allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages, was first put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two designs so much, as burdening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the first, it was not to be doubted that monied men would be always firm to the party of those, who advised the borrowing upon such good security, and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: so that, the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every house and foot of land in England paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and dafalcations, and purchased at less than half value. So that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived at such a height, that a very few years more

of war and funds, would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing upon funds, was of mighty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest; which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchants phrase) at above forty *per cent* discount. At this price, those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament; by which they doubled their principal in a few months: and for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities, proposed some farther advantage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of above five millions one hundred thousand pounds. In the first parliament of the queen the said mortgage was continued till 1710, to supply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thousand pounds, and interest of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years: so that the late ministry raised all their money, to 1710, only by continuing funds, which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to; and made

made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power; not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage, was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interest due upon those sums: for which the treasury was forced to strike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years; till at last, the fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor interest; and tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But, to avoid mistakes upon a subject where I am not very well versed either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an account sent me by sir John Blunt, who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs:

"In the year 1707, the sum of eight hundred "twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-"one pounds, fifteen shillings, and sixpence, was "raised, by continuing part of the general mortgage "from 1710 to 1712; but with no provision of in-"terest till August the first, 1710, otherwise than "by striking tallies for it on that fund, payable after "all the other money borrowed.

"In 1708, the same funds were continued from "1712 to 1714, to raise seven hundred twenty-"nine thousand sixty-seven pounds, fifteen shil-"lings, and sixpence; but no provision for interest "till August the first, 1712, otherwise than as be-

" fore, by striking tallies for it on the same fund,
" payable after all the rest of the money borrowed.
" And the discount of tallies then beginning to rise,
" great part of that money remained unraised; and
" there is nothing to pay interest for the money lent,
" till August the first, 1712. But the late lord
" treasurer struck tallies for the full sum directed by
" the act to be borrowed; great part of which have
" been delivered in payment to the navy and victual-
" ling offices; and some are still in the hands of the
" government.

" In 1709, part of the same fund was continued
" from August the first, 1714, to August the first,
" 1716, to raise six hundred forty-five thousand
" pounds; and no provision for interest till August
" the first, 1714 (which was about five years), but
" by borrowing money on the same fund, payable
" after the sums before lent; so that little of that
" money was lent. But the tallies were struck for
" what was unlent; some of which were given out
" for the payment of the navy and victualling; and
" some still remain in the hands of the govern-
" ment.

" In 1710, the sums which were before given
" from 1714 to 1716 were continued from thence
" to 1720, to raise one million two hundred ninety-
" six thousand five hundred and fifty-two pounds,
" nine shillings, and eleven pence three farthings;
" and no immediate provision for interest till August
" the first, 1716: only, after the duty of one shil-
" ling *per* bushel on salt should be cleared from the
" money it was then charged with, and which was
" not so cleared till Midsummer 1712 last; then
" that fund was to be applied to pay the interest till

" August

" August the first, 1716: which interest amounted " to about seventy-seven thousand seven hundred " and ninety-three pounds *per annum:* and the said " salt fund produced but about fifty-five thousand " pounds *per annum:* so that no money was borrow- " ed upon the general mortgage in 1710, except one " hundred and fifty thousand pounds lent by the " Swiss Cantons; but tallies were struck for the " whole sum. These all remained in the late trea- " surer's hands at the time of his removal; yet the " money was suspended, which occasioned those " great demands upon the commissioners of the " treasury who succeeded him, and were forced to " pawn those tallies to the bank, or to remitters, " rather than sell them at twenty or twenty-five *per* " *cent* discount, as the price then was. About two " hundred thousand pounds of them they paid to " clothiers of the army, and others; and all the " rest, being above ninety thousand pounds, have " been subscribed into the Southsea Company, for " the use of the publick.

When the earl of Godolphin was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of several millions, all contracted under his administration, which had no parliament security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or despair, at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this means navy bills grew to be forty *per cent* discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of stores, bought by the navy and victualling offices, cost the government double rates,

and sometimes more: so that the publick has directly lost several millions upon this one article, without any sort of necessity, that I could ever hear assigned, by the ablest vindicators of that party.

In this oppressed and entangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of Godolphin from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present treasurer was one. This person had been chosen speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards secretary of state, and always in great esteem with the queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late ministry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary, that he should succeed in a second attempt, against those very adversaries, who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he has once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience, "That a secret is seldom safe in more "than one breast." That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation, offers to him as his first thoughts; so that he decides immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politicks, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than to pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are

are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be ever so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he has been at the helm, does clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies, by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortress of his kingdom as a security; and this against all the opposition mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies: such performances can only be called cunning by those, whose want of understanding, or of candour, puts them

upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister, seems, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too; which I number among his defects. He has been blamed by his friends, for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he has been heard to answer, "That he seldom did "otherwise, without cause to repent."

However, so undistinguished a caution, cannot, in my opinion, be justified, by which the owner loses many advantages, and whereof all men who deserve to be confided in, may, with some reason, complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature has her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for, time is often gained, as well as lost, by delay, which, at worst, is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon that article: his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons; which renders him less amiable, than he would otherwise have been, from the goodness of his humour, and agreeable conversation in a private

a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he has; since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes, than he is of his own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory; which is of mighty use in the management of publick affairs: and I believe there are few examples to be produced, in any age, of a person who has passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with a greater share both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person, who, in the space of two years, has been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and has deserved so well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the publick debts which I have already described, this minister was brought into the treasury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer bills, which, to the great discouragement of publick credit, and scandal to the crown, were three *per cent* less in value than the sums specified in them. The present treasurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the bank of England should be obliged, in consideration of forty-five thousand pounds, to accept and circulate those bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army; who, by unheard of exactions in that kind of traffick, had amassed prodi-

gious

gious wealth at the publick cost; to which the earl of Godolphin had given too much way, possibly by neglect, for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.

But the new treasurer's chief concern was, to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the publick as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care, or courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage tallies for the year 1710, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this; which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South Seas, and for encouragement of fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars; which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident. The chancellor of the exchequer (which

was

was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the sieur de Guiscard, a French papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe, that after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt under the pressures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were many of them prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this trade, either through Old Spain, or directly to the Spanish West Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the navy bills rose to about twenty *per cent* nor ever fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have since been erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others which followed were full before the acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, or by suspending payments where they seemed less to press, that all stores for the navy should be bought with ready money; by which

which *cent per cent* has been saved in that mighty article of our expense, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling office on the 9th of August, 1712. And the payment of the interest was less a burden upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related, may serve to show in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption, as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent effectual measures have since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accompts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament during this session.

Upon the 18th of January, the house of lords sent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the Hanover family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of Henry VIII, which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces and grandchildren, of the crown; by virtue of which, the princess Sophia is a princess of the blood, as niece to king Charles I. of England, and precedes accordingly; but the privilege does not descend to her son the elector, or the electoral prince. To supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appears by the preamble, was recommended by her majesty to the house of lords; which the

the commons, to show their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, passed *nem. con.* and returned to the lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart, than a strict inquiry into the state of the nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, concluded about three years since by the lord viscount Townshend, between Great Britain and the States General; and showing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of the powers in our alliance, in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted, by the same writers, "That these hardships put upon England, "had been countenanced and encouraged by a party "here at home, in order to preserve their power, "which could be no otherwise maintained than by "continuing the war; as well as by her majesty's "general abroad, upon account of his own pecu-"liar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not; for, in the former case, it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular,

for whom her majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the Barrier-treaty, which were prejudicial to Britain; and in either case, it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry, the Barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majesty and her allies, during the present war, for raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the queen's directions, laid before the house.

Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas, upon certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, and upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, "That whatever had been "charged, by publick discourses in print, against the "late ministry, and the conduct of the allies, was "much less than the truth." Upon these resolutions, (by one of which the lord viscount Townshend, who negotiated and signed the Barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the queen and kingdom) and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and soon after, the commons, in a body, presented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adverse party not prevailing to have it recommitted.

This representation (supposed to be the work of sir Thomas Hanmer's* pen) is written with much energy

* Chosen speaker of the house of commons, Feb. 18, 1713-14. He was a fine scholar and celebrated orator. He published by subscription a most elegant edition of Shakspeare, at Oxford; and printed no more copies than were subscribed for; which made it a great

energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentick record, for the assitance of those, who at any time shall undertake to write the history of the present times.

I did intend, for brevity sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but, upon trial, found myself unequal to such a task, without injuring so excellent a piece. And although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided: yet, this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the house of commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not well be omitted:

" Most gracious sovereign,

" We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal " subjects, the commons of Great Britain in par- " liament assembled, having nothing so much at " heart, as to enable your majesty to bring this " long and expensive war, to an honourable and " happy conclusion, have taken it into our most " serious consideration, how the necessary supplies " to be provided by us may be best applied, and " how the common cause may in the most effec- " tual manner be carried on, by the united force of " the whole confederacy: We have thought our- " selves obliged, in duty to your majesty, and in " discharge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire " into the true state of the war in all its parts: " We have examined what stipulations have been

great curiosity; but it has lately been reprinted. He married Isabella duchess dowager of Grafton; and died May 5, 1746.

" entered

" entered into between your majesty and your " allies; and how far such engagements have, on " each side, been made good: We have considered " the different interests which the confederates have " in the success of this war; and the different " shares they have contributed to its support: We " have with our utmost care and diligence endea- " voured to discover the nature, extent, and charge " of it; to the end that by comparing the weight " thereof with our own strength, we might adapt " the one to the other in such measure, as neither " to continue your majesty's subjects under a hea- " vier burden than in reason and justice they " ought to bear, nor deceive your majesty, your " allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than " the nation in its present circumstances is able to " perform.

" Your majesty has been graciously pleased, upon " our humble applications, to order such materials " to be laid before us, as have furnished us with " the necessary information, upon the particulars " we have inquired into: and when we shall have " laid before your majesty our observations, and " humble advice upon this subject, we promise to " ourselves this happy fruit from it, that if your " majesty's generous and good purposes for the " procuring of a safe and lasting peace, should, " through the obstinacy of the enemy, or by any " other means, be unhappily defeated, a true know- " ledge and understanding of the past conduct of " the war, will be the best foundation for a more " frugal and equal management of it, for the time " to come.

" In order to take the more perfect view of what

" we

" we proposed, and that we might be able to set " the whole before your majesty in a true light, " we have thought it necessary to go back to the " beginning of the war; and beg leave to observe " the motives and reasons, upon which, his late " majesty king William engaged first in it. The " treaty of the grand alliance explains those reasons " to be, for the supporting of the pretensions of his " imperial majesty, then actually engaged in a war " with the French king, who had usurped the en- " tire Spanish monarchy, for his grandson the duke " of Anjou; and for the assisting of the States Ge- " neral, who, by the loss of their barrier against " France, were then in the same, or a more dan- " gerous condition, than if they were actually in- " vaded. As these were just and necessary motives " for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to " be obtained by it were equally wise and honour- " able; for, as they are set forth in the eighth ar- " ticle of the same treaty, they appear to have " been, *the procuring of an equitable and reasonable* " *satisfaction to his imperial majesty; and sufficient* " *securities for the dominions, provinces, navigation,* " *and commerce, of the king of Great Britain and* " *the States General; and making effectual provision,* " *that the two kingdoms of France and Spain, should* " *never be united under the same government;* and " particularly, that the French should never get " into the possession of the Spanish West Indies, or " be permitted to sail thither, upon the account of " traffick, or under any pretence whatsoever; and " lastly, the securing to the subjects of the king of " Great Britain, and the States General, all the " same privileges and rights of commerce, through-

" out the whole dominions of Spain, as they en-
" joyed before the death of Charles II., king of
" Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, or
" custom, or any other way whatsoever. For the
" obtaining of these ends, the three confederated
" powers engaged to assist one another with their
" whole force, according to such proportions as
" should be specified in a particular convention af-
" terwards to be made for that purpose. We do
" not find that any such convention was ever rati-
" fied : but it appears, that there was an agreement
" concluded, which, by common consent, was un-
" derstood to be binding upon each party respec-
" tively, and according to which, the proportions
" of Great Britain were from the beginning regu-
" lated and founded. The terms of that agree-
" ment were, That for the service at land, his im-
" perial majesty should furnish ninety thousand,
" men, the king of Great Britain forty thousand,
" and the States General one hundred and two
" thousand : of which there were forty-two thou-
" sand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty
" thousand to act against the common enemy in
" the field ; and with regard to the operations of
" the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed
" jointly by Great Britain and the States General,
" the quota of ships to be furnished for that ser-
" vice being five-eighths on the part of Great Bri-
" tain, and three-eighths on the part of the States
" General.

" Upon this foot, the war began in the year
" 1702 ; at which time, the whole yearly expense
" of it to England, amounted to three millions
" seven hundred and six thousand four hundred

" ninety-

" ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, as it " was then thought by her majesty's subjects, " after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed " from the burden of the former war; but yet a " very moderate proportion, in comparison with " the load which has since been laid upon them: " for it appears, by estimates given in to your com- " mons, that the sums necessary to carry on the " service for this present year, in the same manner " as it was performed the last year, amount to more " than six millions nine hundred and sixty thou- " sand pounds, beside interest for the publick debts, " and the deficiencies accruing the last year, which " two articles require one million one hundred " and forty-three thousand pounds more; so that " the whole demands upon your commons, are " arisen to more than eight millions, for the pre- " sent annual supply. We know your majesty's " tender regard for the welfare of your people, " will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a " pressure as this upon them: and as we are assured " it will fully convince your majesty of the neces- " sity of our present inquiry; so, we beg leave to " represent to you from what causes, and by what " steps, this immense charge appears to have grown " upon us.

" The service at sea, as it has been very large " and extensive in itself, so it has been carried on, " through the whole course of the war, in a man- " ner highly disadvantageous to your majesty and " your kingdom: for the necessity of affairs re- " quiring that great fleets should be fitted out every " year, as well for maintaining a superiority in " the Mediterranean, as for opposing any force

" which the enemy might prepare, either at Dun-
" kirk, or in the ports of West France; your ma-
" jesty's example and readiness, in fitting out your
" proportion of ships for all parts of that service,
" have been so far from prevailing with the States
" General to keep pace with you, that they have
" been deficient every year to a great degree, in
" proportion to what your majesty has furnished;
" sometimes, no less than two-thirds, and gene-
" rally, more than half of their quota: hence your
" majesty has been obliged, for the prevention of
" disappointments in the most pressing services, to
" supply those deficiencies by additional reinforce-
" ments of your own ships; nor has the single in-
" crease of such a charge been the only ill conse-
" quence that attended it; for, by this means the
" debt of the navy has been enhanced, so that the
" discounts arising upon the credit of it, have af-
" fected all other parts of the service, from the
" same cause. Your majesty's ships of war have
" been forced in greater numbers to continue in re-
" mote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year,
" to the great damage and decay of the British
" navy. This also has been the occasion that
" your majesty has been straitened in your convoys
" for trade; your coasts have been exposed, for
" want of a sufficient number of cruisers to guard
" them; and you have been disabled from annoy-
" ing the enemy in their most beneficial commerce
" with the West Indies, from whence they received
" those vast supplies of treasure, without which
" they could not have supported the expenses of
" this war.

" That part of the war which has been carried

" on

" on in Flanders, was at first immediately necessary " to the security of the States General, and has since " brought them great acquisitions both of revenue " and dominion: yet even there the original pro- " portions have been departed from, and during " the course of the war, have been sinking by de- " grees on the part of Holland: so that, in this last " year, we find the number in which they fell short " of their three-fifths, to your majesty's two-fifths, " have been twenty thousand eight hundred and " thirty-seven men. We are not unmindful that " in the year 1703, a treaty was made between the " two nations, for a joint augmentation of twenty " thousand men, wherein the proportions were va- " ried, and England consented to take half upon " itself. But it having been annexed as an ex- " press condition to the grant of the said augment- " ation in parliament, that the States General " should prohibit all trade and commerce with " France; and that condition having not been per- " formed by them; the commons think it reason- " able, that the first rule of three to two ought to " have taken place again, as well in that, as in " other subsequent augmentations; more especially " when they consider, that the revenues of those " rich provinces which have been conquered, " would, if they were duly applied, maintain a " great number of new additional forces against the " common enemy: notwithstanding which, the " States General have raised none upon that ac- " count: but make use of those fresh supplies of " money, only to ease themselves in the charges of " their first established quota.

" As, in the progress of the war in Flanders, a

" disproportion was soon created to the prejudice of " England; so the very beginning of the war in " Portugal, brought an unequal share of burden " upon us: for, although the emperor and the " States General were equally parties with your " majesty, in the treaty with the king of Portugal; " yet, the emperor neither furnishing his third part " of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the " Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his " imperial majesty's defect upon themselves, your " majesty has been obliged to furnish two-thirds of " the entire expense created by that service. Nor " has the inequality stopped there; for ever since " the year 1706, when the English and Dutch " forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the " States General have entirely abandoned the war " in Portugal, and left your majesty to prosecute it " singly at your own charge; which you have ac- " cordingly done, by replacing a greater number " of troops there, than even at first you took upon " you to provide. At the same time, your ma- " jesty's generous endeavours for the support and " defence of the king of Portugal, have been but " ill seconded by that prince himself; for, notwith- " standing that by his treaty he had obliged him- " self to furnish twelve thousand foot, and three " thousand horse, upon his own account, beside " eleven thousand foot, and two thousand horse " more, in consideration of a subsidy paid him; " yet, according to the best information your com- " mons can procure, it appears that he has scarce at " any time furnished thirteen thousand men in the " whole.

" In Spain, the war has been yet more unequal

" and

" and burdensome to your majesty, than in any
" other branch of it; for, being commenced with-
" out any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost
" wholly declined taking any part of it upon them-
" selves. A small body of English and Dutch
" troops were sent thither in the year 1705; not as
" being thought sufficient to support a regular war,
" or to make the conquest of so large a country;
" but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to
" set king Charles upon the throne; occasioned by
" the great assurances which were given of their
" inclinations to the house of Austria; but, this
" expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn
" into an established war, under all the disadvantages
" of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts
" of the other allies. The account we have to lay
" before your majesty upon this head, is, that
" although this undertaking was entered upon at the
" particular and earnest request of the imperial court,
" and for a cause of no less importance and concern
" to them than the reducing of the Spanish monarchy
" to the house of Austria; yet, neither the late
" emperors, nor his present imperial majesty, have
" ever had any forces there on their own account,
" till the last year; and then only one regiment of
" foot, consisting of two thousand men. Though
" the States General have contributed something
" more to this service, yet their share has been in-
" considerable; for, in the space of four years, from
" 1705 to 1708, both inclusive, all the forces they
" have sent into that country, have not exceeded
" twelve thousand two hundred men; and from the
" year 1708 to this time, they have not sent any
" forces or recruits whatsoever. To your majesty's

" care and charge the recovery of that kingdom has
" been in a manner wholly left, as if none else were
" interested or concerned in it. And the forces
" which your majesty has sent into Spain, in the
" space of seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both
" inclusive, have amounted to no less than fifty-
" seven thousand nine hundred seventy-three men;
" beside thirteen battalions, and eighteen squadrons,
" for which your majesty has paid a subsidy to the
" emperor.

" How great the established expense of such a
" number of men has been, your majesty very well
" knows, and your commons very sensibly feel:
" but the weight will be found much greater when
" it is considered how many heavy articles of un-
" usual and extraordinary charge, have attended this
" remote and difficult service; all which have been
" entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that one
" of transporting the few forces which were sent by
" the States General, and the victualling of them
" during their transportation only. The accounts
" delivered to your commons show, that the charge
" of your majesty's ships and vessels, employed in
" the service of the war in Spain and Portugal,
" reckoned after the rate of four pounds a man *per*
" month, from the time they sailed from hence, till
" they returned, were lost, or put upon other services,
" has amounted to six millions five hundred forty
" thousand nine hundred and sixty-six pounds,
" fourteen shillings; the charge of transports on the
" part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in
" Spain and Portugal, from the beginning of it till
" this time, has amounted to one million three hun-
" dred thirty-six thousand seven hundred and nine-

" teen

" teen pounds, nineteen shillings, and eleven pence;
" that of victualling land forces for the same service,
" to five hundred eighty-three thousand seven hun-
" dred and seventy pounds, eight shillings, and six-
" pence; and that of contingencies, and other
" extraordinaries for the same service, to one million
" eight hundred forty thousand three hundred and
" fifty-three pounds.

" We should take notice to your majesty of
" several sums paid upon account of contingencies
" and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together
" the sum of one million one hundred seven thou-
" sand ninety-six pounds; but we are not able to
" make any comparison of them, with what the
" States General have expended upon the same head,
" having no such state of their extraordinary charge
" before us. There remains, therefore, but one par-
" ticular more for your majesty's observation, which
" arises from the subsidies paid to foreign princes.
" These, at the beginning of the war, were born in
" equal proportion by your majesty and the States
" General; but in this instance also, the balance
" has been cast in prejudice of your majesty: for it
" appears that your majesty has since advanced,
" more than your equal proportion, three millions
" one hundred and fifty-five thousand crowns, beside
" extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in
" any of the foregoing articles, which arise to five
" hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred and
" fifty-three pounds.

" We have laid these several particulars before
" your majesty in the shortest manner we have been
" able; and by an estimate grounded on the preced-

" ing facts, it does appear, that over and above the " quotas on the part of Great Britain, answering to " those contributed by your allies, more than nine- " teen millions have been expended by your ma- " jesty, during the course of this war, by way of " surplusage, or exceeding in balance; of which " none of the confederates have furnished any thing " whatsoever.

" It is with very great concern that we find so " much occasion given us, to represent how ill a " use hath been made of your majesty's, and your " subjects zeal for the common cause: that the in- " terest of that cause has not been proportionably " promoted by it, but others only have been eased " at your majesty's, and your subjects costs; and " have been connived at in laying their part of the " burden upon this kingdom, although they have, " upon all accounts, been equally, and in most re- " spects, much more nearly concerned than Britain, " in the issue of the war. We are persuaded, your " majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some " resentment, to complain of the little regard, which " some of those, whom your majesty of late years " intrusted, have shown to the interest of their coun- " try, in giving way at least to such unreasonable " impositions upon it, if not in some measure con- " triving them: the course of which impositions has " been so singular and extraordinary, that the more " the wealth of this nation has been exhausted, and " the more your majesty's arms have been attended " with success, the heavier has been the burden laid " upon us; while, on the other hand, the more " vigorous your majesty's efforts have been, and the

" greater

" greater the advantages which have redounded " thence to your allies, the more those allies have " abated in the share of their expense.

" At the first entrance into this war, the com- " mons were reduced to exert themselves in the " extraordinary manner they did, and to grant " such large supplies, as had been unknown to for- " mer ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mis- " chiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that, in " which they were necessarily engaged, to a speedy " conclusion: but they have been very unhappy " in the event, while they have so much reason to " suspect that what was intended to shorten the war, " has proved the very cause of its long continuance; " for, those to whom the profits of it have accrued, " have been disposed not easily to forego them. " And your majesty will thence discern *the true* " *reason why so many have delighted in a war, which* " *brought in so rich a harvest yearly from Great* " *Britain.*

" We are as far from desiring, as we know your " majesty will be from concluding, any peace, but " upon safe and honourable terms: and we are far " from intending to excuse ourselves from raising " all necessary and possible supplies, for an effec- " tual prosecution of the war, till such a peace can " be obtained. All that your faithful commons " aim at, all that they wish, is an equal concur- " rence from the other powers, engaged in alliance " with your majesty; and a just application of what " has been already gained from the enemy, toward " promoting the common cause. Several large " countries and territories have been restored to the " house of Austria; such as, the kingdom of Naples,

" the

" the duchy of Milan, and other places in Italy. " Others have been conquered, and added to their " dominions ; as the two electorates of Bavaria and " Cologn, the duchy of Mantua, and the bishoprick " of Liege. These, having been reduced, in a great " measure, by our blood and treasure, may, we " humbly conceive, with great reason, be claimed to " come in aid toward carrying on the war in Spain. " And therefore we make it our earnest request to " your majesty, that you will give instructions to your " ministers, to insist with the emperor, that the re- " venues of those several places, excepting only such " a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, " be actually so applied. And as to the other parts " of the war, to which your majesty has obliged your- " self by particular treaties to contribute, we hum- " bly beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased " to take effectual care, that your allies do perform " their parts stipulated by those treaties ; and that " your majesty will, for the future, no otherwise " furnish troops, or pay subsidies, than in proportion " to what your allies shall actually furnish and pay. " When this justice is done to your majesty and to " your people, there is nothing which your commons " will not cheerfully grant, toward supporting your " majesty in the cause in which you are engaged. " And whatever farther shall appear to be necessary " for carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we " will effectually enable your majesty to bear your " reasonable share, of any such expense ; and will " spare no supplies which your subjects are able, " with their utmost efforts, to afford.

" After having inquired into, and considered the " state of the war, in which the part your majesty

" has

" has born, appears to have been not only superiour " to that of any one ally, but even equal to that of " the whole confederacy; your commons naturally " inclined to hope, that they should find care had " been taken of securing some particular advantages " to Britain, in the terms of a future peace; such as " might afford a prospect of making the nation " amends, in time, for that immense treasure which " has been expended, and those heavy debts which " have been contracted, in the course of so long and " burdensome a war. This reasonable expectation " could no way have been better answered, than by " some provision made for the farther security, and " the greater improvement of the commerce of Great " Britain. But we find ourselves so very far disap- " pointed in these hopes, that, in a treaty not long " since concluded between your majesty and the " States General, under colour of a mutual guarantee " given for two points of the greatest importance to " both nations, the Succession and the Barrier; it " appears, the interest of Great Britain has been not " only neglected, but sacrificed; and that several " articles in the said treaty are destructive to the " trade and welfare of this kingdom, and therefore " highly dishonourable to your majesty.

" Your commons observe, in the first place, that " several towns and places are, by virtue of this " treaty, to be put into the hands of the States " General; particularly Newport, Dendermond, and " the castle of Ghent, which can in no sense be " looked upon as part of a barrier against France; " but, being the keys of the Netherlands toward " Britain, must make the trade of your majesty's " subjects in those parts, precarious, and whenever

" the

" the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. " The pretended necessity of putting these places " into the hands of the States General, in order to " secure to them a communication with their bar- " rier, must appear vain and groundless; for, the " sovereignty of the Low Countries being not to " remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that " communication must be always secure and uninter- " rupted; beside that, in case of a rupture or an " attack, the States have full liberty allowed them " to take possession of all the Spanish Netherlands, " and therefore needed no particular stipulation for " the towns abovementioned.

" Having taken notice of this concession made " to the States General, for seizing upon the whole " ten provinces; we cannot but observe to your " majesty, that in the manner this article is framed, " it is another dangerous circumstance which at- " tends this treaty; for, had such a provision been " confined to the case of an apparent attack from " France only, the avowed design of this treaty " had been fulfilled, and your majesty's instruc- " tions to your ambassador had been pursued: but " this necessary restriction has been omitted; and " the same liberty is granted to the States, to take " possession of all the Netherlands, whenever they " shall think themselves attacked by any other " neighbouring nation, as when they shall be in " danger from France: so that, if it should at any " time happen (which your commons are very un- " willing to suppose) that they should quarrel even " with your majesty, the riches, strength, and ad- " vantageous situation of these countries, may be " made use of against yourself, without whose ge-

" nerous

" nerous and powerful assistance, they had never
" been conquered.

" To return to those ill consequences which re-
" late to the trade of your kingdoms. We beg
" leave to observe to your majesty, that though this
" treaty revives and renders your majesty a party
" to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the
" treaty of Munster, by virtue of which the impo-
" sitions upon all goods and merchandises brought
" into the Spanish Low Countries by the sea, are
" to equal those laid on goods and merchandises
" imported by the Scheld, and the canals of Sass
" and Swyn, and other mouths of the sea adjoin-
" ing; yet no care is taken to preserve that equa-
" lity, upon the exportation of those goods out of
" the Spanish provinces, into those countries and
" places which, by virtue of this treaty, are to be
" in possession of the States; the consequence of
" which must in time be, and your commons are
" informed that in some instances it has already
" proved to be the case, that the impositions upon
" goods carried into those countries and places by
" the subjects of the States General, will be taken
" off, while those upon the goods imported by
" your majesty's subjects remain: by which means,
" Great Britain will entirely lose this most beneficial
" branch of trade, which it has in all ages been
" possessed of, even from the time when those coun-
" tries were governed by the house of Burgundy, one
" of the most ancient, as well as the most useful
" allies to the crown of England.

" With regard to the other dominions and ter-
" ritories of Spain, your majesty's subjects have
" always been distinguished in their commerce
" with

" with them; and, both by ancient treaties, and " an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater " privileges and immunities of trade, than either " the Hollanders, or any other nation whatsoever. " And that wise and excellent treaty of the Grand " Alliance, provides effectually for the security and " continuance of these valuable privileges to Bri- " tain, in such a manner, as that each nation " might be left, at the end of war, upon the same " foot as it stood at the commencement of it. But " this treaty we now complain of, instead of con- " firming your subjects rights, surrenders and de- " stroys them: for, although by the sixteenth and " seventeenth articles of the treaty of Munster, " made between his Catholick majesty and the States " General, all advantages of trade are stipulated " for, and granted to the Hollanders, equal to what " the English enjoyed; yet, the crown of Eng- " land not being a party to that treaty, the sub- " jects of England have never submitted to those " articles of it, nor even the Spaniards themselves " ever observed them. But this treaty revives those " articles in prejudice of Great Britain; and makes " your majesty a party of them, and even a guarantee " to the States General, for privileges against your " own people.

" In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner " your majesty's ambassador consented to deprive " your subjects of their ancient rights, and your " majesty of the power of procuring to them any " new advantage, most evidently appears from his " own letters, which, by your majesty's directions, " have been laid before your commons: for, when " matters of advantage to your majesty, and to

" your

" your kingdom, had been offered, as proper to " be made parts of this treaty, they were refused " to be admitted by the States General, upon this " reason and principle: That nothing foreign to " the guaranties of the succession and of the bar- " rier, should be mingled with them. Notwith- " standing which, the States General had no sooner " received notice of a treaty of commerce con- " cluded between your majesty and the present em- " peror, but they departed from the rule proposed " before, and insisted upon the article of which " your commons now complain; which article, " your majesty's ambassador allowed of, although " equally foreign to the succession or the barrier; " and although he had, for that reason, departed " from other articles, which would have been for " the service of his own country.

" We have forborn to trouble your majesty with " general observations upon this treaty, as it re- " lates to, and affects the empire, and other parts " of Europe. The mischiefs which arise from it to " Great Britain are what only we have presumed " humbly to represent to you, as they are very " evident and very great. And as it appears that " the lord viscount Townshend had not any orders, " or authority, for concluding several of those ar- " ticles, which are most prejudicial to your ma- " jesty's subjects; we have thought we could do no " less than declare your said ambassador who nego- " tiated and signed, and all others who advised the " ratifying of this treaty, enemies to your majesty " and your kingdom.

" Upon these faithful informations and advices " from your commons, we assure ourselves, your

" majesty, in your great goodness to your people, " will rescue them from those evils, which the " private counsels of ill-designing men have ex- " posed them to; and that, in your great wisdom, " you will find some means for explaining and " amending the several articles of this treaty, so as " that they may consist with the interest of Great " Britain, and with real and lasting friendship be- " tween your majesty and the States General."

Between the representation, and the first debates upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For, on the 9th of February was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign protestants, which had been passed under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act, any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a protestant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an English born subject, at the expense of a shilling. Most protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church government; so that all the acquisitions by this act, would increase the number of dissenters; and therefore, the proposal that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the established worship, was rejected. But, because several persons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, " That people are the riches of a " nation," has been crudely understood by many writers and reasoners upon that subject. There are several ways by which people are brought into a

country. Sometimes a nation is invaded, and subdued; and the conquerors seize the lands and make the natives their under tenants or servants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or destroyed, or the land uncultivated and waste. In those countries, where the lord of the soil is master of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of slaves bought by his money, men's riches are reckoned by the number of their vassals. And sometimes, in governments newly instituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And in all these cases, the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpless families, by thousands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the property as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim; and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burden and charge to the parish. The true way of multiplying mankind to publick advantage, in such a country as England, is, to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in clothing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the Romans did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the Palatines were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as

many surmised, it had some other meaning; it appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the publick was a loser by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome at best, and intercepts that nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that house, who should be allowed to possess employments under the crown. Bills to the same effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progress, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the house of lords: and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have so many corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the regulations already made on that article are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the same time, likewise, the house of commons

commons advanced one considerable step, toward securing us against farther impositions from our allies; resolving that the additional forces should be continued; but with a condition, that the Dutch should make good their proposition of three-fifths to two-fifths, which those confederates had so long, and in so great degree, neglected. The duke of Marlborough's deduction of two and a half *per cent* from the pay of the foreign troops, was also applied for carrying on the war.

Lastly, within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the church of England. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of those synods and presbyteries; and at the same time, have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reason or justice, that dissenters of every denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate part among us, should possess a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occasion, be bold enough to insult the religion established; while those of the episcopal church in Scotland, groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against this bill was, that it set the religion by law in both parts of the island upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; because, by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our dissenters were shut out from all employments. A

petition from Carstairs, and other Scotch professors, against this bill, was offered to the house, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clause, that should restrain all persons who have any office in Scotland, from going to episcopal meetings, passed in the negative. It is manifest, that the promoters of this clause, were not moved by any regard for Scotland, which is by no means their favourite at present; only they hoped, that if it were made part of a law, it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both houses, from Scotland, as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords and other persons of distinction, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at the court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship, should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence, to take care of the revenue and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of Scotland.

With a farther view of favour toward the episcopal clergy of Scotland, three members of that country, were directed to bring in a bill, for restoring the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there; which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this subject at once, the queen, at the close of the session, commanded Mr. secretary St. John to acquaint the house,

house, "That, pursuant to their address, the profits "arising from the bishops estates in Scotland, which "remained in the crown, should be applied to the "support of such of the episcopal clergy there, as "would take the oaths to her majesty."

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the queen and her ministers, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited; the unbiassed wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her majesty's counsels were grounded: and many persons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry had been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance of writers, who were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doing justice to Mr. St. John, who had been secretary at war, for several years, under the former administration, where he had the advantage of observing how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present treasurer's fortune, resigning up his employment at the same time; and upon that minister's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was some time after made secretary of state. There he began afresh, by the opportunities of his station, to look into past miscarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to publick affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions, through the whole course of the war, in so evident a manner, that the house of commons seemed principally directed in their resolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a short time after

the representation was published, there appeared a memorial in the Dutch gazette, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well as the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, translated into English, a common writer of news had the boldness to insert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the house of commons; they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into custody.

It was the misfortune of the ministers, that while they were baited by their professed adversaries of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her majesty had taken toward a peace, they met, at the same time, with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end, but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or in appearance now and then, perhaps, a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament, a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of the house of commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what course they ought to steer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppose the court in any proceedings they disliked. The whole body was of such who profess what is commonly called high-church principles, upon which account, they were irreconcileable enemies to the late ministry and all its adherents. On the other side, considering the temper of the new men in power, that they were

persons

persons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, those gentlemen who were impatient for an entire change, and to see all their adversaries laid at once as low as the dust, began to be apprehensive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the least precipitation, although the queen and her first minister had been disposed to it: which certainly they were not. Neither did the court seem at all uneasy at this league, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen, who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or, if such a society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But, in the course of that first session, many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of Guiscard, as it gained farther time for deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person * to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session, of which I am now writing, this October Club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings; but were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no farther use. They saw a point carried in the house of lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery

* Mr. Harley.

directly

directly levelled at the treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter *, to show to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for, immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of gentlemen who seemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps with a mixture of others, who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable jealousy of the treasurer; and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve of favour in this minister, to the persons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occasion offered about this time, some persons, out of distrust to the treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a point which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the house of commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other interests granted by the crown, since the 13th day of February, 1688, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country interest in the house was extremely set upon passing the bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppose all steps toward a resumption of grants; and those who were apprehensive that the treasurer inclined the same way, proposed the bill should be

* Mr. St. John and Mr. Bromley.

tacked

tacked to another, for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper; which has been always imputed, whether justly or not, as a favourite expedient of those called the tory party. At the same time it was very well known, that the house of lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing of such united bills: so that the consequences of this project must have been, to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses: notwithstanding all which, the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one: whereby the worst that could happen would have followed, if the treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the means they were using would certainly disappoint the end; that neither himself, nor any other of the queen's servants, were at all against this inquiry; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the house of lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single; but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court, withstood it to a man, as in a party case: among the rest, some were personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those, whose grants were antecedent to this intended inspection, began to be alarmed, as men whose neighbours houses are on fire. A show of zeal for the late king's honour, occasioned many reflections upon the date of this inquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the earl of Nottingham, who

who had now flung away the mask which he had lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design, by voting as a lord against the bill, after he had directed his son in the house of commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners to examine into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned, did rightly consult their own interest, has been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve. It was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an inquiry; and every body believed that the intention of the parliament was, only to tax the grants with about three years purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors in possession of the remainder for ever; so that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half value with others, either for sale or settlement. Besides, the example of the Irish forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners, that when the house of commons has once engaged in a pursuit, which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of success: for instance, if the resumption should happen to be made part of a supply, which can be easily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might possibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of royal grants be consistent with

with good policy or justice, would be too long a disquisition; besides, the profusion of kings is not likely to be a grievance for the future, because there have been laws since made to provide against that evil, or indeed rather because the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made against the date of the intended inquiry, was invidious and trifling; for king James II. made very few grants: he was a better manager, and squandering was none of his faults; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws and to our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new title, than by purchasing friends at the expense of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money bill one of a different nature, which is usually called *tacking*, has been likewise much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In ancient times, when a parliament was held, the commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids; so that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present; such, for instance, as those for making the king's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter, and some others of the like sort. Most of the money went into the king's coffers, for his private use; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the king's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him. But the supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot

cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses: so that, when the house of commons tack to a money bill, what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other side, there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which, it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session; whereby the commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances by granting supplies, which, upon some emergencies, has put them upon this expedient of tacking; so that there is more to be said on each side of the case, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the house of commons with relation to the press; since her majesty's message to the house, of January the seventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, representing the great licenses taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message seems to be confined to those weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the house of commons, in their address which answers this message, makes an addition of the blasphemies against God and religion; and it is certain that nothing

nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal mischief; but as the person* who advised the queen in that part of her message, had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the house, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons, and has since been found true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and leisure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topicks of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled to the generality of readers; while those who would draw their pens on the side of their prince and country, are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsick value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the publick; and it is to be wished, the party quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but, in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies, and shut our own, is a turn of politicks that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this; and it

* Mr. secretary St John.

is

is not to be denied, that acting as they do upon a national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But, if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration: and had not some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions of the people upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falsehood plentifully, and sometimes not unplausibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may with more safety despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration a great deal; and whatever side has the sole management of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies, as low as they please. If the people had no other idea of those whom her majesty trusts in her greatest affairs, than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would compass sea and land for their destruction; what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How necessary therefore was it, that the world should, from time to time, be undeceived by true representations of persons and facts, which have kept the kingdom steady to its interests, against all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction!

However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured by such a remedy as a tax upon the smaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it, was brought into the

the house of commons, but so late in the session that there was no time to pass it; for there has hitherto always appeared an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press, whether, from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether, the benefit proposed by each party to themselves, from the service of their writers toward the recovering or preserving of power, be thought to outweigh the disadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the house till the eighth of June. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clause inserted (whether industriously with design to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; to which I believe no man, who has the least regard to learning, would give his consent; for beside the objection to this clause from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings for the service of religion, have chosen, out of an humble Christian spirit, to conceal their names; it is certain that all persons of true genius or knowledge, have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their thoughts into the world; and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgment, have dispositions directly contrary: so that, if this clause had been made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning: and that insufferable race of stupid people, who are now every day loading the press, would then

reign alone, in time destroy our very first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity among us, which it already kept out with so much difficulty by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made toward a peace, from the first overtures begun by France, to the commencement of the second session; I shall, in the fourth book, relate the particulars of this great negotiation, from the period last mentioned to the present time; and because there happened some passages in both houses, occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of quakers among us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, has been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but, being a body of people wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions, deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times was, to lay all religion upon

upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, "That no man ought to be denied the "liberty of serving his country, upon account of "a different belief in speculative opinions;" under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of christianity. However, this act in favour of the quakers was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependence; and expired of course after a certain term, if it were not continued. Those people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the house of commons, for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up. Upon this, they applied themselves to the lords; who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

And indeed it is not easy to conceive, upon what motives, the legislature of so great a kingdom, could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd heresy that ever appeared in the world; and this, in a point where those deluding or deluded people, stand singular from all the rest of mankind, who live under civil government: but the designs of an aspiring party, at that time, were not otherwise to be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the church; and I am fully convinced, that if a set of sceptick philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of christianity, they might have obtained the same privilege; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the

people called scepticks, should have been accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form: so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inconsistent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of truth and reason.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

FOUR LAST YEARS

OF THE

QUEEN.

BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and those of the enemy, preparing to assemble at Utrecht on the first of January, N. S. in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace; wherein, although the Dutch had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the queen, yet they set all their instruments at work, to inflame both houses against her majesty's measures. M. Bothmar, the Hanover envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: Hoffman, the emperor's resident, was soliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over prince Eugene at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great proposals from the Imperial court: the earl of Nottingham became a convert, for reasons already mentioned: money was distributed where occasion required; and the dukes of

Somerset and Marlborough, together with the earl of Godolphin, had put themselves at the head of their junto and their adherents, in order to attack the court. Some days after the vote passed the house of lords for admitting into the address the earl of Nottingham's clause, against any peace without Spain; M. Buys, the Dutch envoy, who had been deep in all the consultations with the discontented party for carrying that point, was desired to meet with the lord privy seal, the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. secretary St. John, in order to sign a treaty between the queen and the States, to subsist after a peace. There the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages stipulated for Britain with France: said, "It was his opinion, "that those ministers ought, in respect of the "friendship between both nations, to acquaint him "what these advantages were; and that he looked "upon his country to be entitled by treaty, to "share them equally with us: That there was now "another reason why we should be more disposed "to comply with him upon this head; for, since "the late resolution of the house of lords, he took "it for granted, it would be a dangerous step in us "to give Spain to a prince of the house of Bourbon: "and therefore that we should do well to induce "the States, by such a concession, to help us out of "this difficulty."

Mr. St. John made answer, "That there was "not a man in the queen's council capable of so "base a thought: That if Buys had any thing to "complain of, which was injurious to Holland, or "justly tending to hurt the good correspondence "between us and the States, he was confident her "majesty

" majesty would at all times be ready to give it up ;
" but that the ministers scorned to screen them-
" selves at the expense of their country : That the
" resolution Buys mentioned was chiefly owing to
" foreign ministers intermeddling in our affairs, and
" would perhaps have an effect the projectors did
" not foresee : That if the peace became impracti-
" cable, the house of commons would certainly put
" the war upon another foot ; and reduce the publick
" expense within such a compass, as our treaties
" required in the strictest sense, and as our present
" condition would admit, leaving the partizans for
" war to supply the rest."

Although the secretary believed this answer would put an end to such infamous proposals, it fell out otherwise ; for, shortly after, M. Buys applied himself to the treasurer, promising to undertake, " That " his masters should give up the article of Spain, " provided they might share with us in the assiento " for negroes." To which the treasurer's answer was short, " That he would rather lose his head than " consent to such an offer."

It is manifest by this proceeding, that whatever schemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the Dutch only designed to fall in with it, as far as it would answer their own account ; and by a strain of the lower politicks, wherein they must be allowed to excel every country in Christendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the distress, they themselves had brought upon their nearest neighbour and ally.

But the queen highly resented this indignity from a republick, upon whom she had conferred so

many obligations. She could not endure that the Dutch should employ their instruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to sacrifice the safety of their prince and country, to the recovery of that power, they had so long possessed and abused. Her majesty knew very well, that, whatever were the mistaken, or affected opinion of some people at home, upon the article of Spain, it was a point the States had long given up; who had very openly told our ministry, "That the war in that country was only "our concern, and what their republick had no-"thing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced that the recovery of Spain was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a professed adversary fallen under a disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very instant conferring new favours. Her majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself, and at length put a stop to foreign influence upon British counsels; so that, after the earl of Nottingham's clause against any peace without Spain was carried in the house of lords, directions were immediately sent to the earl of Strafford at the Hague, to inform the Dutch, "That it was "obtained by a trick, and would consequently "turn to the disappointment and confusion of the "contrivers and the actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the pensionary and Dutch ministers; to let them know, "The queen thought herself ill-treated; and that "they would soon hear what effects those measures "would have upon a mild and good temper, "wrought up to resentment by repeated provoca-

"tions:

" tions: That the States might have the war con-
" tinued, if they pleased; but that the queen would
" not be forced to carry it on after their manner; nor
" would suffer them to make her peace, or to settle
" the interests of her kingdoms."

To others in Holland, who appeared to be more moderate, the earl was directed to say, " That the
" States were upon a wrong scent: That their mi-
" nister here mistook every thing that we had pro-
" mised: That we would perform all they could
" reasonably ask from us, in relation to their barrier
" and their trade: and that mons. Buys dealt very
" unfairly, if he had not told them as much: but
" that Britain, proceeding in some respects upon a
" new scheme of politicks, would no longer struggle
" for impossibilities, nor be amused by words: That
" our people came more and more to their senses;
" and that the single dispute now was, whether the
" Dutch would join with a faction against the
" queen, or with the nation for her?"

The court likewise resolved to discourage prince Eugene from his journey to England, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told, " That the queen
" wanted no exhortations to carry on the war; but
" the project of it should be agreed abroad, upon
" which her majesty's resolutions might soon be
" signified: and, until she saw what the emperor and
" allies were ready to do, she would neither promise
" nor engage for any thing." At the same time, Mr. St. John told Hoffman, the emperor's resident here, " That, if the prince had a mind to divert
" himself in London, the ministers would do their

" part to entertain him, and be sure to trouble him " with no manner of business."

This coldness retarded the prince's journey for some days; but did not prevent it, although he had a second message by the queen's order, with this farther addition, " That his name had lately " been made use of, on many occasions, to create " ferment, and stir up sedition; and that her ma- " jesty judged it would be neither safe for him, nor " convenient for her, that he should come over at " this time." But all would not do: it was enough that the queen did not absolutely forbid him: and the party-confederates, both foreign and domestick, thought his presence would be highly necessary for their service.

Toward the end of December, the lord privy-seal * set out for Holland. He was ordered to stop at the Hague, and in conjunction with the earl of Strafford, to declare to the States, in her majesty's name, " Her resolutions to conclude no peace, " wherein the allies in general, and each confede- " rare in particular, might not find their ample se- " curity, and their reasonable satisfaction: That " she was ready to insist upon their barrier, and " advantages in their trade, in the manner the " States themselves should desire; and to concert " with them such a plan of treaty, as both powers " might be under mutual engagements never to re- " cede from: That nothing could be of greater im- " portance, than for the ministers of Great Britain " and Holland, to enter the congress under the

* Dr. John Robinson, bishop of London. See p. 24.

" strictest

" strictest ties of confidence, and entirely to con-
" cur throughout the course of these negotiations;
" to which purpose, it was her majesty's pleasure,
" that their lordships should adjust with the Dutch
" ministers the best manner and method for open-
" ing and carrying on the conferences, and declare
" themselves instructed to communicate freely their
" thoughts and measures to the plenipotentiaries of
" the States, who, they hoped, had received the
" same instructions."

Lastly, the two lords were to signify to the pensionary and the other ministers, " That her ma-
" jesty's preparations for the next campaign, were
" carried on with all the dipsatch and vigour the
" present circumstances would allow: and to insist,
" that the same might be done by the States; and
" that both powers should join in pressing the em-
" peror, and other allies, to make greater efforts
" than they had hitherto done; without which, the
" war must languish, and the terms of peace become
" every day more disadvantageous."

The two British plenipotentiaries went to Utrecht with very large instructions; and after the usual manner, were to make much higher demands from France (at least in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The sum of what they had in charge, beside matter of form, was, to concert with the ministers of the several powers engaged against France, " That all differences arising
" among them should be accommodated between
" themselves, without suffering the French to in-
" terfere: That whatever were proposed to France
" by a minister of the alliance, should be backed
" by the whole confederacy: That a time might

" be

" be fixed for the conclusion, as there had been for " the commencement of the treaty." Spain was to be demanded out of the hands of the Bourbon family, as the most effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with France; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon, for hindering that union, their lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As to the interests of each ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of Britain were to demand " Stras- " burgh, the fort of Kehl with its dependencies, " and the town of Brisac with its territory, for the " emperor: That France should possess Alsatia, " according to the treaty of Westphalia, with the " right of the prefecture only over the ten imperial " cities in that country: That the fortifications of " the said ten cities, be put into the condition they " were in at the time of the said treaty, except " Landau, which was to be demanded for the em- " peror and empire, with liberty of demolishing " the fortifications: That the French king should, " at a certain time, and at his own expense, demo- " lish the fortresses of Hunningen, New Brisac, and " Fort Lewis, never to be rebuilt.

" That the town and fortress of Rhinfelt should " be demanded for the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, " until that matter be otherwise settled.

" That the clause relating to religion, in the " fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick, and con- " trary to that of Westphalia, should be annulled; " and the state of religion in Germany restored to " the tenour of the treaty of Westphalia.

" That France should acknowledge the king of " Prussia,

" Prussia, and give him no disturbance in Neufchatel
" and Valengin.

" That the principality of Orange, and other
" estates belonging to the late king William, should
" be restored, as law should direct.

" That the duke of Hanover should be acknow-
" ledged elector.

" That the king of Portugal should enjoy all the
" advantages stipulated between him and the allies.

" That the States should have for their barrier
" Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Lisle, Tour-
" nay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay,
" Bethune, Avie, St. Venant, and Bouchain, with
" their cannon, &c. : That the French king should
" restore all the places belonging to Spain, now, or
" during this war, in his possession, in the Nether-
" lands : That such part of them as should be
" thought fit, might be allowed likewise for a bar-
" rier to the States : That France should grant the
" tariff of 1664 to the States ; and exemption of
" fifty pence *per* tun upon Dutch goods trading to
" that kingdom : But that these articles in favour
" of the States should not be concluded, till the
" Barrier-treaty were explained to the queen's satis-
" faction.

" That the duke of Savoy should be put in pos-
" session of all taken from him in this war, and
" enjoy the places yielded to him by the emperor
" and other allies : That France should likewise
" yield to him Exilles, Fenestrilles, Chaumont, the
" valley of Pregata, and the land lying between
" Piedmont and Mount Genu.

" That the article about the demolishing of Dun-
" kirk should be explained."

As

As to Britain; the plenipotentiaries were to insert, "That Nieuport, Dendermond, Ghent, and all "places which appear to be a barrier rather against "England than France, should either not be given "to the Dutch, or at least in such a manner as not "to hinder the queen's subjects free passage to and "from the Low Countries.

"That the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, "which empowers the States, in case of an attack, "to put troops at discretion in all the places of the "Low Countries, should be so explained as to be "understood only of an attack from France.

"That Britain should trade to the Low Coun-"tries with the same privileges as the States them-"selves.

"That the most Christian king should acknow-"ledge the succession of Hanover, and immediately "oblige the pretender to leave France; and that the "said king should promise, for himself and his "heirs, never to acknowledge any person for king or "queen of England, otherwise than according to the "settlements now in force.

"That a treaty of commerce should be com-"menced, as soon as possible, between France and "Britain; and in the mean time, the necessary "points relating to it be settled.

"That the isle of St. Christopher's should be "surrendered to the queen, Hudson's Bay restored, "Placentia and the whole island of Newfoundland "yielded to Britain by the most Christian king; "who was likewise to quit all claim to Nova Scotia "and Annapolis Royal.

"That Gibraltar and Minorca should be annexed "to the British crown.

"That

" That the assiento should be granted to Britain " for thirty years, with the same advantage as to " France; with an extent of ground on the river of " Plata, for keeping and refreshing the negroes.

" That Spain should grant to the subjects of " Britain, as large privileges as to any other na- " tion whatsoever; as likewise an exemption of " duties, amounting to an advantage of at least fif- " teen *per cent.*

" That satisfaction should be demanded for what " should appear to be justly due to her majesty, " from the emperor and the States.

" Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should con- " sult, with those of the protestant allies, the most " effectual methods for restoring the protestants of " France to their religious and civil liberties, and for " the immediate release of those who are now in the " galleys."

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negotiation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of France and Spain under one prince, and the settling the barrier for Holland; which last, as claimed by the States, could, in prudence and safety, be no more allowed by us, than by France.

The States General having appointed mons. Buys to be one of their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, that minister left England a few days after the lord privy-seal. In his last conference with the lords of the council, he absolutely declared, " That his mas- " ters had done their utmost, both by sea and land: " That it was unreasonable to expect more: That " they

" they had exceeded their proportion, even beyond " Britain; and that as to the emperor and other " allies, he knew no expedient left for making " them act with more vigour, than to pursue them " with pathetical exhortations."

This minister was sent over hither, instructed and empowered by halves. The ferment raised by the united endeavours of our party leaders, among whom he was a constant fellow labourer to the utmost of his skill, had wholly confounded him; and, thinking to take the advantage of negotiating well for Holland, at the expense of Britain, he acted but ill for his own country, and worse for the common cause. However, the queen's ministers and he parted with the greatest civility; and her majesty's present was double the value of what is usual to the character he bore.

As the queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the necessity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this resolution; which her ambassador Strafford, then at the Hague, was accordingly directed to do: and if they should object, of what ill consequence it would be for the enemy to know her majesty designed to lessen her expenses; he might answer, " That the mini- " sters here were sorry for it; but the Dutch could " only blame themselves, for forcing into such a " necessity, a princess, to whose friendship they " owed the preservation and grandeur of their re- " publick, and choosing to lean on a broken fac- " tion, rather than place their confidence in the " queen."

It was her majesty's earnest desire, that there should

should be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the ministers of all the allies; than which nothing could be more effectual to make France comply with their just demands. Above all, she directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest confidence with those of Holland; and that after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the quiet of Europe, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The Dutch were accordingly pressed, before the congress opened, to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty; because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the house of commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those, who had been actors and advisers in it: but mons. Buys, who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages Britain had stipulated with France; and to insist, "That his masters ought to share equally in them "all, but especially the assiento contract:" so that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between Britain and the States, which her majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for the avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniencies; the conferences began at Utrecht, upon the 29th of January, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the town-house at one door, and those of France at the same instant at another, they all took their seats without distinc-

tion; and the bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, first plenipotentiary of Britain, opened the assembly with a short speech, directed to the ministers of France, in words to the following effect:

" Messieurs,

" We are here to meet to-day, in the name of " God, to enter upon a treaty of general peace, " between the high allies and the king your master. " We bring sincere intentions, and express orders " from our superiors, to concur, on their part, with " whatever may advance and perfect so salutary and " Christian a work. On the other side, we hope, " you have the same disposition; and that your " orders will be so full, as to be able, without loss " of time, to answer the expectation of the high " allies, by explaining yourselves clearly and round- " ly upon the points we shall have to settle in these " conferences; and that you will perform this in so " plain and specifick a manner, as every prince and " state in the confederacy may find a just and " reasonable satisfaction."

The French began, by promising to explain the overtures which mons. Mesnager had delivered to the queen some months before, and to give in a specifick project of what their master would yield, provided the allies would each give a specifick answer, by making their several demands; which method, after many difficulties and affected delays in the Dutch, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had with the utmost discontent seen her majesty at the head of this negotiation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humour upon every occasion.

casion. They raised endless difficulties about settling the Barrier-treaty as the queen desired; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the British secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some Dutch professor for that office; which the queen refused, and resented their behaviour, as a useless cavil, intended only to show their want of respect. The British plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect that the Dutch were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate measures with France, by the intervention of one Moleau, a busy factious agent at Amsterdam, who had been often employed in such intrigues; and that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier from the French, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The Dutch ministers did also apply themselves with industry to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with Spain and the West Indies, in case those dominions could be procured for the emperor: for this reason, they avoided settling any general plan of peace in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Britain, which her majesty desired; and mons. Buys plainly told their lordships, "That it was a point, which neither he nor his "colleagues could consent to, before the States "were admitted equal sharers with Britain in the "trade of Spain."

The court, having notice of this untractable temper in the Dutch, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of Britain, for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross inequalities of the Barrier-

treaty; since nothing was more usual, or agreeable to reason, than for princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared, by votes in the house of commons, that the sense of the nation agreed with what her majesty desired, if the Dutch ministers would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular concessions made to Britain by France, and form them into a treaty; for the queen was determined never to allow the States any share in the assiento, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon; nor could think it reasonable that they should be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of Spain, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial minister, at this time, less perplexing than that of the States; both those powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negotiation, or upon forcing from the queen those advantages she expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her majesty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of March, to send Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the treasurer's, to Utrecht, fully informed of her mind; which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of Britain.

Mr. Harley stopped in his way to Utrecht at the Hague, and there told the pensionary, "That no-"thing had happened lately in England, but what "was long ago foretold him, as well as the other "ministers of the allies: That the proceedings of "the house of commons, particularly about the "Barrier-treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the "manner

" manner in which the queen and the nation had " been treated by mons. Bothmar, count Gallas, " Buys, and other foreign ministers: That if the " States would yet enter into a strict union with the " queen, give her satisfaction in the said treaty, " and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at " Utrecht, a safe and advantageous peace might be " obtained for the whole alliance; otherwise, her " majesty must save her own country, and join with " such of her allies as would join with her.

" As to the war, that the conduct of the allies, " and their opposition to the queen, her private in- " trigues carried on among her own subjects, as well " as by open remonstrances, had made the house " of commons take that matter out of the hands of " the ministers.

" Lastly, that in case the present treaty were " broken off by the Dutch refusing to comply, her " majesty thought it reasonable to insist that some " cautionary places be put into her hands, as " pledges that no other negotiation should be " entered into by the States General, without her " participation."

Mr. Harley's instructions to the queen's plenipotentiaries were, " That they should press those of " France to open themselves as far as possible, in " concerting such a plan of a general peace as " might give reasonable satisfaction to all the con- " federates, and such as her parliament would ap- " prove: That the people of England believed " France would consent to such a plan; wherein if " they found themselves deceived, they would be as " eager for prosecuting the war as ever."

Their lordships were to declare openly to the

Dutch, "That no extremity should make her ma-
"jesty depart from insisting to have the assiento
"for her own subjects, and to keep Gibraltar and
"Port Mahon: but, if the States would agree with
"her upon these three heads, she would be content
"to reduce the trade of Spain and the West Indies,
"to the condition it was in under the late Catholick
"king Charles II."

The French were farther to be pressed, "That
"the pretender should be immediately sent out of
"that kingdom; and that the most effectual me-
"thod should be taken, for preventing the union of
"France and Spain under one prince."

About this time her majesty's ministers, and those of the allies at Utrecht, delivered in the several *postulata* or demands of their masters, to the French plenipotentiaries; which, having been since made publick, and all of them, except those of Britain, very much varying in the course of the negotiation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a transcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last dauphin's death, the father, son, and grandson, all of that title, dying within the compass of a year, mons. Gualtier went to France, with letters to the marquis de Torcy, to propose her majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with Spain; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to secure peace for Europe, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted, under the present circumstances and situation of the Bourbon family; there being only left a child of two years old, to stand between the duke of Anjou, and his succeeding to the crown of France.

Her

Her majesty likewise pressed France, by the same dispatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries; empowering them to offer such a plan of peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's proposal for preventing a union between France and Spain, was, "That Philip should "formally renounce the kingdom of France, for "himself and his posterity; and that this renuncia-"tion should be confirmed by the cortes or states of "Spain, who, without question, would heartily con-"cur against such a union, by which their country "must become a province to France." In like manner, the French princes of the blood were severally to renounce all title to Spain.

The French raised many difficulties upon several particulars of this expedient; but the queen persisted to refuse any plan of peace, before this weighty point were settled in the manner she proposed: which was afterwards submitted to, as in proper place we shall observe. In the mean time, the negotiation at Utrecht proceeded with a very slow pace; the Dutch interposing all obstructions they could contrive, refusing to come to any reasonable temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the queen, for a general peace. Nothing less would satisfy them, than the partaking in those advantages we had stipulated for ourselves, and which did no wise interfere with their trade or security. They still expected some turn in England. Their friends on this side had ventured to assure them, "That the queen could not live many months;" which, indeed, from the bad state of her majesty's health, was reasonable to expect. The British pleni-

potentiaries daily discovered new endeavours of Holland to treat privately with France. And, lastly, those among the States, who desired the war should continue, strove to gain time, until the campaign should open; and by resolving to enter into action with the first opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the congress.

This scheme did exactly fall in with prince Eugene's dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct in this conjuncture the queen had too much reason to be jealous. But her majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost toward putting a good and speedy end to the war, having placed the duke of Ormond at the head of her forces in Flanders, where he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in British pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honour. She therefore directed her ministers at Utrecht to tell the Dutch, "That in order to show how desirous "she was to live in perfect amity with that repub- "lick, she would resign up the fifteen *per cent* ad- "vantage upon English goods sent to the Spanish "dominions, which the French king had offered "her by a power from his grandson; and be con- "tent to reduce that trade, to the state in which it "was under the late king of Spain. She would "accept of any tolerable softening of those words

"in

" in the seventh article of the Barrier-treaty, where " it is said, ' The States shall have power, in case " of an apparent attack, to put as many troops as they " please into all the places of the Netherlands,' with- " out specifying an attack from the side of France, " as ought to have been done ; otherwise, the queen " might justly think they were preparing themselves " for a rupture with Britain. Her majesty likewise " consented, that the States should keep Nieuport, " Dendermond, and the castle of Ghent, as an ad- " dition to their barrier, although she were sensible " how injurious those concessions would be to the " trade of her subjects; and would wave the de- " mand of Ostend being delivered into her hands, " which she might with justice insist on. In return " for all this, that the queen only desired the mi- " nisters of the States would enter into a close cor- " respondence with her's; and settle between them " some plan of a general peace, which might give " reasonable content to all her allies, and which her " majesty would endeavour to bring France to con- " sent to. She desired the trade of her kingdoms " to the Netherlands, and to the towns of their " barrier, might be upon as good a foot as it was " before the war began : That the Dutch would " not insist to have a share in the assiento, to " which they had not the least pretensions ; and " that they would no longer encourage the intrigues " of a faction against her government. Her ma- " jesty assured them, in plain terms, That her own " future measures, and the conduct of her pleni- " potentiaries should be wholly governed by their " behaviour in these points ; and that her offers

" were

" were only conditional, in case of their compliance " with what she desired."

But all these proofs of the queen's kindness and sincerity could not avail. The Dutch ministers pleaded, " They had no power to concert the plan " of general peace with those of Britain." However, they assured the latter, " That the assiento " was the only difficulty which stuck with their " masters." Whereupon, at their desire, a contract for that traffick was twice read to them; after which, they appeared very well satisfied, and said, " They would go to the Hague, for farther in- " structions." Thither they went; and after a week's absence, returned the same answer, " That " they had no power to settle a scheme of peace; " but could only discourse of it when the diffi- " culties of the Barrier-treaty were over." And mons. Buys took a journey to Amsterdam, on purpose to stir up that city, where he was pensionary, against yielding the assiento to Britain: but was unsuccessful in his negotiation; the point being yielded up there, and in most other towns in Holland.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardly credible, that in several petty republicks of single towns, which make up the States General, it should be formally debated, whether the queen of Great Britain, who preserved the commonwealth at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by Spain, of selling African slaves in the Spanish dominions of America! But there was a prevailing faction at the Hague, violently bent against any

any peace, where the queen must act that part, which they had intended for themselves. These politicians, who held constant correspondence with their old dejected friends in England, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death, or the party's restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the time, till prince Eugene's activity had pushed on some great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Therefore the Dutch plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the instructions of those mistaken patriots, acted in every point with a spirit of litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a strict union between the allies, but especially Britain and Holland, being doubtless the only means for procuring safe and honourable terms from France.

But neither was this the worst: for the queen received undoubted intelligence from Utrecht, that the Dutch were again attempting a separate correspondence with France; and by letters intercepted here from Vienna, it was found, that the Imperial court, whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with those of Holland, expressed the most furious rage against her majesty, for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment the queen could not digest, from an ally upon whom she had conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity, during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her, in every motion toward a peace. She apprehended likewise, that the negotiation might be taken out of her hands, if France could be secure of easier conditions in Hol-

land, or might think that Britain wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved, therefore, on this occasion, to exert herself with vigour, steadiness, and dispatch; and in the beginning of May, sent her commands to the earl of Strafford, to repair immediately to England, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal abovementioned, for preventing the union of France and Spain, met with many difficulties; mons. de Torcy raising objections against several parts of it. But the queen refused to proceed any farther with France, until this weighty point were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a suspension of arms, provided the town and citadel of Dunkirk might be delivered as a pledge into her hands; and proposed that Ipres might be surrendered to the Dutch, if they would consent to come into the suspension. France absolutely refused the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majesty, she pressed that matter no farther, because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end, or at least intermission, to her own share in the war: and the French having declared themselves ready to agree to her expedients for preventing the union of the two crowns, and consented to the delivery of Dunkirk, positive orders were sent to the duke of Ormond, to avoid engaging in any battle or siege, until he had farther instructions: but he was directed to conceal his orders; and to find the best excuses he could, if any pressing occasion should offer.

The

The reasons for this unusual proceeding, which made a mighty noise, were of sufficient weight to justify it; for, pursuant to the agreement made between us and France, a courier was then dispatched from Fontainbleau to Madrid, with the offer of an alternative to Philip either of resigning Spain immediately to the duke of Savoy, upon the hopes of succeeding to France, and some present advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needless to dilate on; or of adhering to Spain, and renouncing all future claim to France for himself and his posterity.

Until it could be known which part Philip would accept, the queen would not take possession of Dunkirk, nor suffer an armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most Christian king had agreed that his grandson should be forced, in case of a refusal, to make his choice immediately; her majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some thousands of lives of her own subjects and allies might be sacrificed without necessity, if an occasion should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which, she very well knew, prince Eugene would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new masters the Dutch, and the rage of his court.

But the duke of Ormond, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for prince Eugene, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or besieging Quesnoy; the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they

they expected. And accordingly, about three days after the duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his grace, at a meeting with the prince and deputies, "That the French army "should be attacked, their camp having been "viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it "with success; for the mareschal de Villars, who "had notice sent him by mons. de Torcy of what "was passing, and had signified the same by a "trumpet to the duke, showed less vigilance than "was usual to that general; taking no precautions "to secure his camp, or observe the motions of the "allies, probably on purpose to provoke them." The duke said, "That the earl of Strafford's sudden "departure for England made him believe there "was something of consequence now transacting, "which would be known in four or five days; and "therefore desired they would defer this, or any "other undertaking, until he could receive fresh "letters from England." Whereupon the prince and deputies immediately told the duke, "That "they looked for such an answer as he had given "them: That they had suspected our measures for "some time; and their suspicions were confirmed "by the express his grace had so lately received, as "well as by the negligence of mons. Villars." They appeared extremely dissatisfied; and the deputies told the duke, "That they would imme-"diately send an account of his answer to their "masters:" which they accordingly did; and soon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expostulating letter, in a style less respectful than became them; desiring him, among other things, to explain himself, whether he had positive orders not

to

to fight the French; and afterwards told him, "They "were sure he had such orders; otherwise he could "not answer what he had done." But the duke still waved the question; saying "He would be glad to "have letters from England, before he entered upon "action; and that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident, the ministers and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm; vented their fury in violent expressions against the queen, and those she employed in her councils; said, "They "were betrayed by Britain;" and assumed the countenance of those who think they have received an injury, and are disposed to return it.

The duke of Ormond's army consisted of eighteen thousand of her majesty's subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and the States. The duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion; and "that upon an exigency, he could "only depend on the British troops adhering to "him; those of Hanover having already determined "to desert to the Dutch, and tempted the Danes to "do the like; and that he had reason to suppose "the same of the rest."

Upon the news arriving at Utrecht, that the duke of Ormond had refused to engage in any action against the enemy; the Dutch ministers there went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy-seal: aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding, together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favourable opportunity of ruining the French army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates; adding,

ing, " How hard it was, that they should be kept in " the dark, and have no communication of what " was done, in a point which so nearly concerned " them." They concluded, " That the duke must " needs have acted by orders;" and desired his lordship to write, both to court and to his grace, what they had now said.

The bishop answered, " That he knew nothing " of this fact, but what they had told him; and " therefore was not prepared with a reply to their " representations: only, in general, he could ven- " ture to say, that this case appeared very like the " conduct of their field-deputies upon former oc- " casions: That if such orders were given, they " were certainly built upon very justifiable founda- " tions; and would soon be so explained, as to " convince the States and all the world, that the " common interest would be better provided for " another way, than by a battle or siege: That " the want of communication, which they com- " plained of, could not make the States so uneasy, " as their declining to receive it, had made the " queen, who had used her utmost endeavours to " persuade them to concur with her in concerting " every step toward a general peace, and settling " such a plan as both sides might approve and ad- " here to; but, to this day, the States had not " thought fit to accept those offers, or to authorize " any of their ministers, to treat with her majesty's " plenipotentiaries upon that affair, although they " had been pressed to it ever since the negotiation " began: That his lordship, to show that he did " not speak his private sense alone, took this oppor- " tunity to execute the orders he had received the

" evening

" evening before, by declaring to them, that all " her majesty's offers for adjusting the differences " between her and the States, were founded upon " this express condition, That they should come " immediately into the queen's measures, and act " openly and sincerely with her; and that, from their " conduct so directly contrary, she now looked upon " herself to be under no obligation to them."

Monsieur Buys and his colleagues were stunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their side, and had come to the bishop upon that errand. But after their surprise was abated, and Buys's long reasonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that the States should immediately dispatch a minister to England, unless his lordship were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he said, he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the bishop, what the meaning was of the last words in his declaration, " That her " majesty looked upon herself to be under no obliga- " tion to them." He told them his opinion, " That " as the queen was bound by treaty to concert with " the States the conditions of a peace; so, upon " their declining the concert so frequently offered, " she was acquitted of that obligation: but that he " verily believed, whatever measures her majesty " should take, she would always have a friendly re- " gard to the interest of their commonwealth; and " that, as their unkindness had been very unex- " pected and disagreeable to her majesty, so their " compliance would be equally pleasing."

I have been the more circumstantial in relating

this affair, because it furnished abundance of discourse, and gave rise to many wild conjectures and misrepresentations, as well here as in Holland, especially that part which concerned the duke of Ormond; for the angry faction in the house of commons, upon the first intelligence that the duke had declined to act offensively against France, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an address, wherein the queen should be informed of "the "deep concern of her commons, for the dangerous "consequences to the common cause, which must "arise from this proceeding of her general; and "to beseech her, that speedy instructions might "be given to the duke, to prosecute the war with "vigour, in order to quiet the minds of her people, "&c." But a great majority was against this motion; and a resolution drawn up, and presented to the queen by the whole house, of a quite contrary tenour: "That they had an entire confidence in her "majesty's most gracious promise, to communicate "to her parliament the terms of the peace before "the same should be concluded; and that they "would support her majesty, in obtaining an ho-"nourable and safe peace, against all such persons, "either at home or abroad, who have endeavoured, "or shall endeavour, to obstruct the same."

The courier sent with the alternative to Spain was now returned, with an account that Philip had chosen to renounce France, for himself, and his posterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majesty, upon the 6th of June, in a long speech to both houses of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, stipulated between her and France. This speech being the plan whereby both

France

France and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the subsequent course of the treaty, I shall desire the reader's leave to insert it at length, although I believe it has been already in most hands:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The making of peace and war is the undoubted " prerogative of the crown. Yet such is the just " confidence I place in you, that at the opening " of this session, I acquainted you that a negoti- " ation for a general peace was begun; and after- " wards, by messages, I promised to communicate " to you the terms of peace, before the same should " be concluded.

" In pursuance of that promise, I now come to " let you know upon what terms a general peace " may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties which arise " from the very nature of this affair; and it is but " too apparent, that these difficulties have been " increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived " to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing, however, has moved me from steadily " pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of " my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any " thing, which might procure to all our allies, what " is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary " for their security.

" The assuring of the protestant succession, as by " law established, in the house of Hanover, to these " kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart; " particular care is taken, not only to have that " acknowledged in the strongest terms; but to have " an additional security, by the removal of that per-

" son out of the dominions of France, who has pre-
" tended to disturb this settlement.

" The apprehension that Spain and the West
" Indies might be united to France, was the chief
" inducement to begin this war; and the effectual
" preventing of such a union, was the principle I
" laid down at the commencement of this treaty:
" former examples, and the late negotiations, suf-
" ficiently show how difficult it is to find means to
" accomplish this work. I would not content myself
" with such as are speculative, or depend on treaties
" only; I insisted on what was solid, and to have
" at hand the power of executing what should be
" agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, that France at
" last is brought to offer, that the duke of Anjou
" shall, for himself and his descendants, renounce
" for ever all claim to the crown of France; and
" that this important article may be exposed to
" no hazard, the performance is to accompany the
" promise.

" At the same time, the succession to the crown
" of France is to be declared, after the death of
" the present dauphin and his sons, to be in the
" duke of Berry and his sons, in the duke of Orleans
" and his sons, and so on to the rest of the house of
" Bourbon.

" As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to
" those dominions, after the duke of Anjou and his
" children, is to descend to such prince as shall be
" agreed upon at the treaty; for ever excluding the
" rest of the house of Bourbon.

" For confirming the renunciations and settle-
" ments beforementioned, it is farther offered,
" that

" that they should be ratified in the most strong
" and solemn manner, both in France and Spain;
" and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other
" powers engaged in the present war, shall be gua-
" rantees to the same.

" The nature of this proposal is such, that it ex-
" ecutes itself: the interest of Spain is, to support
" it; and in France, the persons to whom that suc-
" cession is to belong, will be ready and powerful
" enough to vindicate their own right.

" France and Spain are now more effectually
" divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of
" God, will a real balance of power be fixed in
" Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents, as
" human affairs can be exempted from.

" A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms
" and France has been entered upon; but the ex-
" cessive duties laid on some goods, and the pro-
" hibition of others, make it impossible to finish
" this work so soon as were to be desired. Care
" is however taken to establish a method of settling
" this matter; and in the mean time provision is
" made, that the same privileges and advantages as
" shall be granted to any other nation by France,
" shall be granted in like manner to us.

" The division of the island of St. Christopher,
" between us and the French, having been the
" cause of great inconveniency and damage to my
" subjects; I have demanded to have an absolute
" cession made to me of that whole island: and
" France agrees to this demand.

" Our interest is so deeply concerned in the
" trade of North America, that I have used my
" utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the

" most beneficial manner. France consents to restore " to us the whole Bay and Straits of Hudson; to " deliver up the island of Newfoundland, with " Placentia; and to make an absolute cession of " Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia or Acadie.

" The safety of our home trade will be better pro- " vided for, by the demolition of Dunkirk.

" Our Mediterranean trade, and the British in- " terest and influence in those parts, will be secure " by the possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, " with the whole island of Minorca; which are " offered to remain in my hands.

" The trade to Spain and to the West Indies, " may in general be settled as it was in the time of " the late king of Spain Charles the Second; and a " particular provision be made, that all advantages, " rights, or privileges, which have been granted, or " which may hereafter be granted, by Spain, to any " other nation, shall be in like manner granted to " the subjects of Great Britain.

" But, the part which we have born in the pro- " secution of this war, entitling us to some distinc- " tion in the terms of peace, I have insisted, and " obtained, that the assiento, or contract for fur- " nishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, " shall be made with us, for the term of thirty years, " in the same manner as has been enjoyed by the " French, for ten years past.

" I have not taken upon me to determine the " interests of our confederates: These must be ad- " justed in the congress at Utrecht; where my best " endeavours shall be employed, as they have hither- " to constantly been, to procure to every one of " them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the

" mean

" mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that " France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the " Empire; to yield Brisack, the fort of Kehl, and " Landau; and to raze all the fortresses both on the " other side of the Rhine, and in that river.

" As to the protestant interest in Germany; there " will be, on the part of France, no objection to " the resettling thereof, on the foot of the treaty of " Westphalia.

" The Spanish Low Countries may go to his im- " perial majesty; the kingdoms of Naples and Sar- " dinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belong- " ing to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may " likewise be yielded by the treaty of peace to the " emperor.

" As to the kingdom of Sicily; though there re- " mains no dispute concerning the cession of it by " the duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is " not yet determined.

" The interests of the States General with respect " to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been " demanded by their own ministers, with the excep- " tion only of some very few species of merchan- " dise; and the entire barrier, as demanded by the " States in 1709 from France, except two or three " places at most.

" As to these exceptions, several expedients are " proposed: and I make no doubt but this barrier " may be so settled, as to render that republick per- " fectly secure against any enterprise on the part of " France; which is the foundation of all my engage- " ments, upon this head, with the States.

" The demands of Portugal depending on the " disposition of Spain, and that article having been

" long in dispute, it has not been yet possible to " make any considerable progress therein: but my " plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to " assist that king in his pretensions.

" Those of the king of Prussia are such as, I " hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part " of France; and my utmost endeavours shall not " be wanting, to procure all I am able to so good " an ally.

" The difference between the barrier demanded " for the duke of Savoy in 1709, and the offers " now made by France, is very inconsiderable: but, " that prince having so signally distinguished him- " self in the service of the common cause, I am " endeavouring to procure for him still farther ad- " vantages.

" France has consented, that the elector Pala- " tine shall continue his present rank among the " electors, and remain in possession of the Upper " Palatinate.

" The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged " in the house of Hanover, according to the ar- " ticle inserted, at that prince's desire, in my de- " mands.

" And as to the rest of the allies, I make no " doubt of being able to secure their several in- " terests.

" My lords, and gentlemen,

" I have now communicated to you not only " the terms of peace, which may, by the future " treaty, be obtained for my own subjects; but " likewise the proposals of France, for satisfying our " allies.

" The

" The former, are such as I have reason to ex-
" pect, to make my people some amends, for that
" great and unequal burden which they have lain
" under, through the whole course of this war; and
" I am willing to hope that none of our confederates,
" and especially those to whom so great accessions
" of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace,
" will envy Britain her share in the glory and ad-
" vantage of it.

" The latter, are not so perfectly adjusted, as a
" little more time might have rendered them; but,
" the season of the year making it necessary to put
" an end to this session, I resolved no longer to defer
" communicating these matters to you.

" I can make no doubt but you are all fully
" persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my
" part, in the progress of this negotiation, to bring
" the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and I de-
" pend on your entire confidence in me, and your
" cheerful concurrence with me."

The discontented party in the house of commons, finding the torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their opposition; by which means, an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her majesty's condescension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negotiations, for obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the duke of Ormond was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those arts, which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negotiator, than a great commander. But, as he had always proved his obedience where courage or conduct could be of use; so, the duty he

professed

professed to his prince, made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, "That he could not depend upon the "foreign forces in the queen's pay;" and he now found some attempts were already begun, to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from Madrid, the duke had orders to inform the mareschal de Villars of the true state of this affair; and "That his grace "would have decisive orders in three or four days." In the mean time, he desired the mareschal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with prince Eugene's army; which he must necessarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived, with the account that Philip had chosen to accept of Spain, her majesty had proposed to France a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged to three or four) between the armies now in Flanders, upon the following conditions:

"That, during the suspension, endeavours should "be used for concluding a general peace; or, at "least, the article for preventing the union of France "and Spain should be punctually executed, by "Philip's renouncing France, for himself and his "posterity; and the princes of Bourbon, in like "manner, renouncing Spain: and that the town, "citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, should be immedi-"ately delivered into the queen's hands." Her majesty, at the same time, endeavoured to get Cambray for the Dutch, provided they would come into the

the suspension. But this was absolutely rejected by France; which that court never would have ventured to do, if those allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with sincerity and openness, in concert with her majesty, as her plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the queen promised, "That if "the States would yield to a suspension of arms, "they should have some valuable pledge put into "their possession."

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from Utrecht and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her majesty's pay desert her service; and a design even of seizing the British forces was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the queen's speech was published in Holland, the lord privy seal told the Dutch ministers at Utrecht, "That what her majesty had laid before "her parliament could not, according to the rules "of treaty, be looked on as the utmost of what "France would yield in the course of a negotiation; "but only the utmost of what that crown would pro- "pose, in order to form the plan of a peace: That "these conditions would certainly have been better, "if the States had thought fit to have gone hand in "hand with her majesty, as she had so frequently "exhorted them to do: That nothing but the want "of harmony among the allies, had spirited the "French to stand out so long: That the queen "would do them all the good offices in her power, "if they thought fit to comply; and did not doubt "of getting them reasonable satisfaction, both in "relation to their barrier and their trade." But this reasoning made no impression. The Dutch ministers said, "The queen's speech had deprived them "of

" of the fruits of the war." They were in pain lest Lisle and Tournay might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their barrier. The rest of the allies grew angry, by the example of the Dutch. The populace in Holland began to be inflamed: they publickly talked, " That Britain had betrayed them." Sermons were preached in several towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her Britannick majesty, whom they charged as a papist, and an enemy to their country. The lord privy seal himself believed something extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own person was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain that the States appeared, but a few days before, very much disposed to comply with the measures the queen had taken; and would have consented to a general armistice, if count Zinzendorf, one of the plenipotentiaries for the emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himself in sowing jealousies between Britain and the States; and at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the ministers of Prussia, the Palatinate, and Hanover, for continuing the war. That those three electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and subsidies, should readily accept the proposals of the emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republick, usually cautious enough in making their bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promises of the house of Austria, the little validity whereof they had so long experienced; and especially when they counted upon losing the support of Britain, their most

most powerful ally: but the false hopes given them by their friends in England, of some new change in their favour; or an imagination of bringing France to better terms, by the appearance of resolution; added to the weakness or corruption of some who administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The Dutch ministers were wholly disconcerted and surprized, when the lord privy seal told them, "That a suspension of arms in the Netherlands "would be necessary; and that the duke of Or- "mond intended very soon to declare it, after he "had taken possession of Dunkirk." But his lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening the States into a compliance with her majesty. He likewise communicated to the ministers of the allies, the offers made by France, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her majesty thought to be satisfactory; and hoped, "their masters would con- "cur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy "conclusion, wherein, each in particular, might be "assured of her best offices for advancing their just "pretensions."

In the mean time the duke of Ormond was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of Dunkirk, as soon as he should have notice from the mareschal de Villars that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it. But the duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing of this commission. He could trust such an enterprise to no forces, except those of her majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper,

temper of the States in this conjuncture; and was loth to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend that the Dutch would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns, (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: besides, the duke had fairly signified to mareschal de Villars, "that he "expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops "in her majesty's pay, as soon as the armistice "should be declared;" at which the mareschal appearing extremely disappointed, said, "The king "his master reckoned, that all the troops under "his grace's command should yield to the cessation; "and wondered how it should come to pass, that "those who might be paid for lying still, would "rather choose, after a ten years war, to enter into "the service of new masters, under whom they must "fight on for nothing." In short, the opinion of mons. Villars was, "That this difficulty cancelled "the promise of surrendering Dunkirk;" which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the duke of Ormond's representing those difficulties, the queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from England to take possession of Dunkirk. The duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majesty's service how highly she would resent their desertion; after which their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or subsidy. The lord

privy seal spoke the same language at Utrecht, to the several ministers of the allies, as Mr. secretary St. John did to those who resided here: adding, "That the proceeding of the foreign troops would "be looked upon as a declaration for, or against her "majesty; and that in case they desert her service, "she would look on herself as justified before God "and man, to continue her negotiation at Utrecht, "or any other place, whether the allies concur or "not." And particularly the Dutch were assured, "That, if their masters seduced the forces hired by "the queen, they must take the whole pay, arrears, "and subsidies, on themselves."

The earl of Strafford, preparing about this time to return to Utrecht, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the duke of Ormond of her majesty's intentions. He also acquainted the States deputies with the queen's uneasiness, lest, by the measures they were taking, they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of Britain and the States, "with "how much surprise her majesty had heard that "there was the least doubt of their obeying the "orders of the duke of Ormond; which if they "refused, her majesty would esteem it not only as "an indignity and affront, but as a declaration "against her; and in such a case, they must look

"on

" on themselves as no farther entitled either to any " arrear, or future pay, or subsidies."

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. Hill, were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of Dunkirk; and the duke of Ormond, upon the first intelligence sent him that the French were ready to deliver the town, was to declare, " He could act no longer against France." The queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, " That " their perpetual caballing with her factious sub- " jects, against her authority, had forced her into " such measures, as otherwise she would not have " engaged in. However, her majesty was willing " yet to forget all that had passed, and to unite " with them in the strictest ties of amity, which " she hoped they would now do; since they could " not but be convinced, by the late dutiful ad- " dresses of both houses, how far their highmighti- " nesses had been deluded, and drawn in as in- " struments to serve the turn, and gratify the pas- " sions, of a disaffected party: That their oppo- " sition; and want of concert with her majesty's " ministers, which she had so often invited them " to, had encouraged France to except towns out " of their barrier, which otherwise might have " been yielded: That however, she had not pre- " cluded them, or any other ally, from demanding " more; and even her own terms were but condi- " tional, upon a supposition of a general peace to " ensue: That her majesty resolved to act upon " the plan laid down in her speech." And she repeated the promise of her best offices to promote the interest

interest of the States, if they would deal sincerely with her.

Some days before the duke of Ormond had notice that orders were given for the surrender of Dunkirk, prince Eugene of Savoy sent for the generals of the allies, and asked them severally, "Whether, in case "the armies separated, they would march with him, "or stay with the duke?" All of them, except two, who commanded but small bodies, agreed to join with the prince; who thereupon, about three days after, sent the duke word, "That he intended "to march the following day (as it was supposed to besiege Landrecy.") The duke returned an answer, "That he was surprised at the prince's "message, there having been not the least previous "concert with him, nor any mention in the message, "which way, or upon what design, the march was "intended: therefore, that the duke could not re-"solve to march with him; much less could the "prince expect assistance from the queen's army, "in any design undertaken after this manner." The duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince) might take his measures accordingly, and not attribute to her majesty's general, any misfortune that might happen.

On the 16th of July, N. S. the several generals of the allies joined prince Eugene's army, and began their march, after taking leave of the duke and the earl of Strafford, whose expostulations could not prevail on them to stay; although the latter assured them, "That the queen had made neither peace "nor truce with France; and that her forces would "now be left exposed to the enemy."

The next day after this famous desertion, the

duke of Ormond received a letter from mons. de Villars, with an account that the town and citadel of Dunkirk should be delivered to Mr. Hill. Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by sound of trumpet, at the head of the British army; which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her majesty's subjects, except the Holsteiners, and count Wallis's dragoons. With this small body of men the general began his march; and pursuant to orders from court, retired toward the sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the queen's service. When he came as far as Flines, he was told by some of his officers, "That the commandants of Bouchain, Douay, Lisle, "and Tournay, had refused them passage through "those towns, or even liberty of entrance; and said "it was by order of their masters." The duke immediately recollected, that when the deputies first heard of this resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, "They hoped he did not intend to march "through any of their towns." This made him conclude, that the orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same treatment which his officers had done. He had likewise, before the armies separated, received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom, of his own person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few British troops entrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service; and whose resentments were raised to the utmost, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters.

Upon

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to Dunkirk, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march toward Warneton, in the way to Dunkirk, he gave sudden orders to lieutenant-general Cadogan, to change his route (according to the military phrase) and move toward Orchies, a town leading directly to Ghent.

When prince Eugene and the States deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree; and sent count Nassau, of Wordenberg, to the general's camp near Orchies, to excuse what had been done; and to assure his grace, "That those commandants who had "refused passage to his officers, had acted wholly "without orders." Count Hompesch, one of the Dutch generals, came likewise to the duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march; and on the 23d of July, N. S. entered Ghent, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of Bruges a few days after.

The duke of Ormond thought, that considering the present disposition of the States toward Britain, it might be necessary for the queen to have some pledge from that republick in her hands, as well as from France; by which means her majesty would be empowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least; and that while Ghent

was in the queen's hands, no provisions could pass the Scheldt or the Lis without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns, might likewise teach the Dutch and Imperialists, to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her majesty, which both of them were upon some occasions too apt to forget: and besides, there was already in the town of Ghent a battalion of British troops, and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled: so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present juncture, than this; which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little interrupted the order of time in relating the duke of Ormond's proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at Bruges, and sent a supply of men and ammunition to Dunkirk, retired to Ghent, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to England.

Upon the arrival of colonel Disney at court, with an account that Mr. Hill had taken possession of Dunkirk, a universal joy spread over the kingdom; this event being looked on as the certain forerunner of a peace: besides, the French faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers themselves altogether at ease, or free from suspicion, whatever countenance

countenance they made; for they knew very well that the French king had many plausible reasons to elude his promise, if he found cause to repent it; one condition of surrendering Dunkirk being a general armistice of all the troops in the British pay, which her majesty was not able to perform; and upon this failure, the mareschal de Villars (as we have before related) endeavoured to dissuade his court from accepting the conditions, and in the very interval while those difficulties were adjusting, the mareschal d'Uxelles, one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht (whose inclinations, as well as those of his colleague mons. Mesnager, led him to favour the States more than Britain) assured the lord privy seal, "That the "Dutch were then pressing to enter into separate "measures with his master." And his lordship, in a visit to abbé de Polignac, observing a person to withdraw as he entered the abbé's chamber, was told by this minister, "That the person he saw was one "Moleau of Amsterdam (mentioned before) a fa-"mous agent for the States with France, who had "been entertaining him (the abbé) upon the same "subject; but that he had refused to treat with "Moleau, without the privity of England."

Mr. Harley, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to Utrecht, continued longer in Holland than was at first expected; but, having received her majesty's farther instructions, was about this time arrived at Hanover. It was the misfortune of his electoral highness, to be very ill served by mons. Bothmar, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opi-

nion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the elector's court a little Frenchman, without any merit or consequence, called Robethon, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able of those whom the queen employed in her service; insinuating, "That the present ministers "were not in the interest of his highness's family; "that their views were toward the pretender; that "they were making an unsecure and dishonourable "peace; that the weight of the nation was against "them; and that it was impossible for them to pre-"serve much longer their credit or power."

The earl Rivers had, in the foregoing year, been sent to Hanover, in order to undeceive the elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his highness against her majesty's proceedings; but it should seem that he had no very great success in his negotiation: for, soon after his return to England, mons. Bothmar's memorial appeared, in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his electoral highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the queen. Mr. Harley was therefore directed to take the first opportunity of speaking to the elector in private; to assure him, "That, although her majesty had "thought herself justly provoked by the conduct "of his minister, yet such was her affection for his "highness, and concern for the interests of his fa-"mily, that instead of showing the least mark of "resentment, she had chosen to send him (Mr. Har-

"ley)

" ley) fully instructed to open her designs, and show " his highness the real interest of Britain in the " present conjuncture." Mr. Harley was to give the elector a true account of what had passed in England, during the first part of this session of parliament; to expose to his highness the weakness of those with whom his minister had consulted, and under whose directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction must become when a peace should be concluded, and when the natural strength of the kingdom, disencumbered from the burden of the war, should be at liberty to exert itself: to show him how his interest in the succession was sacrificed to that of a party: " That his " highness had been hitherto a friend to both sides, " but that the measures taken by his ministers, had " tended only to set him at the head of one, in op- " position to the other:" To explain to the elector, how fully the safety of Europe was provided for by the plan of peace in her majesty's speech: and how little reason those would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Harley was to observe to the elector, " That it should rather be wondered " at, how the queen had brought France to offer " so much, than yet to offer no more; because, as " soon as ever it appeared that her majesty would " be at the head of this treaty, and that the in- " terests of Britain were to be provided for, such en- " deavours were used to break off the negotiation, " as are hardly to be paralleled; and the disunion

" thereby created among the allies, had given more " opportunties to the enemy of being slow in their " concessions, than any other measures might pos- " sibly have done: That this want of concert " among the allies, could not in any sort be imputed " to the queen; who had all along invited them to " it with the greatest earnestness, as the surest means " to bring France to reason: That she had always " in a particular manner pressed the States General " to come into the strictest union with her, and " opened to them her intentions with the greatest " freedom; but finding that instead of concurring " with her majesty, they were daily carrying on in- " trigues to break off the negotiation, and thereby " deprive her of the advantages she might justly " expect from the ensuing peace, having no other " way left, she was forced to act with France, as " she did, by herself: That however, the queen " had not taken upon herself to determine the inte- " rests of the allies, who were at liberty of insisting " on farther pretensions; wherein her majesty would " not be wanting, to support them as far as she was " able, and improve the concessions already made " by France; in which case, a good understanding " and harmony among the confederates, would yet " be of the greatest use, for making the enemy more " tractable and easy."

I have been more particular in reciting the substance of Mr. Harley's instructions, because it will serve as a recapitulation of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to set her majesty's intentions and proceedings at this time in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the duke of

of Ormond, upon the delivery of Dunkirk, the British plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of Holland to come into a general armistice; for, if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but the States, deluded by the boundless promises of count Zinzendorf, and the undertaking talent of prince Eugene, who dreaded the conclusion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of eighteen thousand Britons, was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally as the emperor, and such a general as the prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superiour to France in the field; and although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the conclusion drawn from it was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank both for skill and station in arms, that in most victories obtained in the present war, the British troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honour, and usually began the attack; (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people of any other country) by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; since it is known enough, how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The French, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a British

general, at the head of British troops, was not to be overcome; and the mareschal de Villars was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the desertion of the allies, happened the earl of Albemarle's disgrace at Denain, by a feint of the mareschal's, and a manifest failure, somewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the side of the confederates; the blame of which was equally shared between prince Eugene and the earl; although it is certain, the duke of Ormond gave the latter timely warning of his danger; observing, he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges sufficient for the situation he was in, and at such a distance from the main army.

The marquis de Torcy had likewise the same sentiments of what mighty consequence those few British battalions were to the confederate army; since he advised his master to deliver up Dunkirk, although the queen could not perform the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned, that mons. de Torcy made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the queen; and observing her majesty's displeasure against the Dutch, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; insinuating, "That, since the States "had acted so ungratefully, the queen should let "her forces join with those of France, in order to "compel the confederates to a peace." But, although this overture were very tenderly hinted from the French court, her majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence; and ordered her secretary Mr. St.

St. John (created about this time viscount Bolingbroke) to tell mons. de Torcy, "That no provocations whatever should tempt her to distress her "allies; but she would endeavour to bring them to "reason by fair means, or leave them to their own "conduct: That if the former should be found impracticable, she would then make her own peace, "and content herself with doing the office of a "mediator between both parties: but, if the States "should at any time come to a better mind, and "suffer their ministers to act in conjunction with "hers, she would assert their just interests to the "utmost, and make no farther progress in any treaty "with France, until those allies received all reasonable satisfaction, both as to their barrier and their "trade." The British plenipotentiaries were directed to give the same assurances to the Dutch ministers at Utrecht; and withal to let them know, "That the "queen was determined, by their late conduct, to "make peace either with, or without them; but "would much rather choose the former."

There was, however, one advantage, which her majesty resolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led, by the mistaken politicks of some years past, to involve herself in several guaranties with the princes of the North, which were in some sort contradictory to one another: but this conduct of theirs wholly annulled all such engagements, and left her at liberty to interpose in the affairs of those parts of Europe, in such a manner, as would best serve the interests of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the protestant religion, and settle a due balance of power in the North.

The

The grand article for preventing the union of France and Spain, was to be executed during a cessation of arms. But many difficulties arising about that, and some other points of great importance to the common cause, which could not easily be adjusted, either between the French and British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, or by correspondence between mons. de Torcy and the ministry here; the queen took the resolution of sending the lord viscount Bolingbroke immediately to France, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorized to negotiate every thing necessary for settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. He was empowered to agree to a general suspension of arms, by sea and land, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, to continue for four months, or until the conclusion of the peace; provided France and Spain would previously give positive assurances to make good the terms demanded by her majesty for the duke of Savoy, and would likewise adjust and determine the forms of the several renunciations to be made by both those crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The lord Bolingbroke was likewise authorized to settle some differences relating to the elector of Bavaria, for whose interests France was as much concerned, as her majesty was for those of the duke of Savoy; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of Britain; to know the real *ultimatum*, as it is termed, of France upon the general plan of peace; and lastly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the queen to force her allies to a disadvantageous peace; her majesty

jesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The lord Bolingbroke went to France in the beginning of August; was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect; and in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission, extremely to the queen's content, and his own honour. He returned to England before the end of the month; but Mr. Prior, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns.

In the mean time, the general conferences at Utrecht, which for several weeks had been let fall, since the delivery of Dunkirk, were now resumed. But, the Dutch still declaring against a suspension of arms, and refusing to accept the queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress made for some time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the British plenipotentiaries told those of the States, "That, if the queen's endeavours could "not procure more than the contents of her speech, "or if the French should ever fall short of what "was there offered, the Dutch could blame none "but themselves, who, by their conduct, had "rendered things difficult, that would otherwise "have been easy." However, her majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of France; which was an expedient they formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

While

While the congress at Utrecht remained in this inactive state, the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of France and Spain. It was proposed, and accepted, that Philip should renounce France, for himself and his posterity; and that the most christian king, and all the princes of his blood, should in the like manner renounce Spain.

It must be confessed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute, by the former practices of this very king Lewis XIV., pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain the French themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the Pyrenean treaty; for the first dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced for himself and his eldest son, which opened the way to Philip duke of Anjou; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the last king, Charles II.

It is indeed hard to reflect with any patience, upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of Europe for some centuries past, who left a probability to France of succeeding, in a few ages, to all their dominions; while, at the same time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reason of the salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every sovereign in christendom, to enact a salique law with respect to France? for want of which, it is almost a miracle that the Bourbon family has not possessed the universal monarchy by right of inheritance. When the French

assert

assert that a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as some of their ministers (who ought to be more wise or honest) have lately advanced in this very case to the title of Spain; do they not, by allowing a French succession, make their own kings usurpers? Or, if the salique law be divine, is it not of universal obligation, and consequently of force to exclude France from inheriting by daughters? Or, lastly, if that law be of human institution, may it not be enacted in any state, with whatever extent or limitation the legislature shall think fit? for the notion of an unchangeable human law, is an absurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and supported by power. Hence it follows, that the children of the late queen of France, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to Spain, as if the salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; since that exclusion was established by every power in Spain which could possibly give a sanction to any law there; and therefore the duke of Anjou's title is wholly founded upon the bequest of his predecessor (which has great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in ours) upon the confirmation of the cortes, and the general consent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation, which the queen has exacted from the French king and his grandson, I take to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act: for, as it is necessary for the security of every prince in Europe, that those two great kingdoms

doms should never be united; so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature, that it executes itself; because the Spaniards, who dread such a union for every reason that can have weight among men, took care that their king should not only renounce in the most solemn manner; but likewise that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to France, upon supposal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the Spaniards, and the party of the duke of Berry, or whoever else shall be next claimer: and the longer the present dauphin lives, the weaker must Philip's interest be in France; because the princes who are to succeed by this renunciation, will have most power and credit in the kingdom.

The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good understanding between the allies, especially Britain and Holland, were increased every day; the French taking the advantage, and raising difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewise upon the explanation of several articles in the projected treaty between them and her majesty. They insisted to have Lisle, as the equivalent for Dunkirk: and demanded Tournay, Maubeuge, and Condé, for the two or three towns mentioned in the queen's speech, which the British plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of France upon that foot; although at the same

same time, the former had fresh apprehensions that the Dutch, in a fit of despair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her majesty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herself.

It is most certain that the repeated losses suffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themselves from the queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their counsels; and their prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them with their good fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in England, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for, when the duke of Ormond had been about a month in Ghent, he received a letter from the mareschal de Villars, to inform him, "That the Dutch generals taken at "Denain had told the mareschal publickly of a "sudden revolution expected in Britain; that parti-"cularly the earl of Albemarle and mons. Hompesch "discoursed very freely of it; and that nothing was "more commonly talked of in Holland." It was then likewise confidently reported in Ghent, that the queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very same time, as if her majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the Dutch; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to overreach us by some private stipulations with France, through the mediation of the elector of Bavaria, as that prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause; they utterly refused a cessa-

tion of arms, and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her majesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of count Zinzendorf were to be relied on; to be convinced that France was not disposed to break with her majesty, only to gratify their ill humour, or unreasonable demands; to discover that their factious correspondents on this side the water had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and, lastly, that prince Eugene, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their ministers at Utrecht to signify to the lord privy seal and the earl of Strafford, "That the States were disposed to "comply with her majesty, and to desire her good "offices with France; particularly, that Tournay "and Condé might be left to them as part of their "barrier, without which they could not be safe: "That the elector of Bavaria might not be suffered "to retain any town in the Netherlands, which "would be as bad for Holland as if those places "were in the hands of France: Therefore the States "proposed, that Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, "and Nieuport, might be delivered to the emperor: "Lastly, That the French might not insist on ex-"cepting the four species of goods out of the tariff "of 1664: That, if her majesty could prevail with "France to satisfy their masters on these articles, "they would be ready to submit in all the rest."

When the queen received an account of this good disposition

disposition in the States General, immediately orders were sent to Mr. Prior, to inform the ministers of the French court, "That her majesty had now "some hopes of the Dutch complying with her "measures; and therefore she resolved, as she had "always declared, whenever those allies came to "themselves, not to make the peace without their "reasonable satisfaction." The difficulty that most pressed was, about the disposal of Tournay and Condé. The Dutch insisted strongly to have both, and the French were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The queen judged the former would suffice for completing the barrier of the States. Mr. Prior was therefore directed to press the marquis de Torcy effectually on this head: and to terminate all that minister's objections, by assuring him of her majesty's resolution to appear openly on the side of the Dutch, if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with France; whose late success against Holland, had taught the ministers of the most christian king, to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill understanding between her majesty and the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of August*, at Utrecht, between a French and a Dutch plenipotentiary, mons. Mesnager and count Rechteren†; wherein

* July.

† The count de Rechteren had filled the highest offices in the state; he had been field deputy, and ambassador extraordinary at the Imperial

wherein the court of France demanded such abject submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly showed they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the Dutch.

Besides, the politicks of the French ran at this time very opposite to those of Britain. They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that therefore, her majesty would either force the States to comply with France, by delivering up Tournay, which was the principal point in dispute; or would finish her own peace with France and Spain, leaving a fixed time for Holland to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the queen, who thought the demand of Tournay by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it; and to declare openly against France, rather than suffer her ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. Prior was ordered to signify this resolution of her majesty to mons. de Torcy, in case that minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The British plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same time, express to those of Holland, her majesty's great satisfaction, "That the States were at "last disposed to act in confidence with her: That "she wished this resolution had been sooner taken, "since nobody had gained by the delay but the "French king; That however, her majesty did "not question the procuring of a safe and honour-"able peace, by united counsels, reasonable de-

perial court, several years; was of noble birth, possessed a great fortune, and on several occasions distinguished himself as a gallant man.

"mands,

" mands, and prudent measures: That she would " assist them in getting whatever was necessary to " their barrier, and in settling to their satisfaction " the exceptions made by France out of the tariff " of 1664: That no other difficulties remained of " moment to retard the peace, since the queen had " obtained Sardinia for the duke of Savoy; and in " the settlement of the Low Countries, would ad- " here to what she delivered from the throne: That " as to the Empire, her majesty heartily wished their " barrier as good as could be desired; but that we " were not now in circumstances to expect every " thing exactly according to the scheme of Holland: " France had already offered a great part: and the " queen did not think the remainder worth the con- " tinuance of the war."

Her majesty conceived the peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this time, to nominate the duke Hamilton, and the lord Lexington, for ambassadors in France and Spain, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjust matters of commerce.

The duke* was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel† by the lord Mohun‡, a person

* James duke of Hamilton was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to king Charles II. He succeeded his father in the title, April 18, 1694, and was sent the same year envoy extraordinary to France; was appointed lord lieutenant of Lancaster, in 1710; created duke of Brandon, September 10, 1711; master-general of the ordinance, August 29, 1712; knight of the garter, October 26; and when preparing for his embassy to France, was killed November 15, 1713.

† Dr. Swift's account of the duel is exactly agreeable to the depositions of colonel Hamilton before a committee of the council.

‡ Charles lord Mohun was the last offspring of a very noble and

person of infamous character. He killed his adversary upon the spot, though he himself received a wound; and weakened by the loss of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his second, was most barbarously stabbed in the breast by lieutenant-general Macartney*, who was second to lord Mohun. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his escape. I thought so surprising an event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my subject.

The earl of Strafford, who had come to England in May last, in order to give her majesty an account of the disposition of affairs in Holland, was now returning with her last instructions, to let the Dutch minister know, "That some points would probably "meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which "once might have been easily obtained: To show "what evil consequences had already flowed from "their delay and irresolution; and to entreat them "to fix on some proposition, reasonable in itself, "as well as possible to be effected: That the queen "would insist upon the cession of Tournay by "France, provided the States would concur in "finishing the peace, without starting new objec-"tions, or insisting upon farther points: That the "French demands, in favour of the elector of "Bavaria, appeared to be such as the queen was "of opinion the States ought to agree to; which "were, to leave the elector in possession of Lux-

ancient family, of which William de Mohun, who accompanied the Norman conqueror, was the first founder in England.

* General Macartney was tried, at the king's bench bar, for the murder, June 13, 1716; and the jury found him guilty of manslaughter.

embourg,

" embourg, Namur, and Charleroy, subject to the " terms of their barrier, until he should be restored " to his electorate; and to give him the kingdom " of Sardinia, to efface the stain of his degradation " in the electoral college: That the earl had brought " over a project of a new treaty of succession and " barrier, which her majesty insisted the States " should sign, before the conclusion of the peace; " the former treaty having been disadvantageous to " her subjects, containing in it the seeds of future " dissensions, and condemned by the sense of the " nation: Lastly, that her majesty, notwithstanding " all provocations, had, for the sake of the Dutch, " and in hopes of their recovery from those false " notions which had so long misled them, hitherto " kept the negotiations open: That the offers now " made them were her last, and this the last time " she would apply to them: That they must either " agree, or expect the queen would proceed im- " mediately to conclude her treaty with France and " Spain, in conjunction with such of her allies as " would think fit to adhere to her.

" As to Savoy; that the queen expected the " States would concur with her in making good " the advantage stipulated for that duke, and in " prevailing with the emperor to consent to an ab- " solute neutrality in Italy, until the peace should " be concluded.

The governing party in Holland, however in appearance disposed to finish, affected new delays; and raised many difficulties about the four species of goods, which the French had excepted out of the tariff. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this

humour in the Dutch, in hopes to put them under a necessity of preparing for the next campaign ; and some time after went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the empire, and told them he had letters from his master, with orders to signify to them, " That his Imperial ma- " jesty resolved to begin the campaign early, with " all his forces united, against France ; of which " he desired they would send notice to all their " courts, that the several princes might be ready to " furnish their contingents and recruits." At the same time, Zinzendorf endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some Imperial cities ; but could not succeed either among the Jews or at Amsterdam.

When the earl of Strafford arrived at Utrecht, the lord privy seal and he communicated to the Dutch ministers the new treaty for a succession and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in England, differing from the former in several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed, for several weeks, by the plenipotentiaries of the States. But the province of Utrecht, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at the Hague, to declare their province thankful to the queen : " That " they agreed the peace should be made on the " terms proposed by France, and consented to the " new projected treaty of barrier and succession." And about the close of the year 1712, four of the seven provinces had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different

ferent from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the British plenipotentiaries. Their lordships had received intelligence, " That the Dutch ministers held frequent " conferences with those of France, and had offered " to settle their interests with that crown, without " the concurrence of Britain." Count Zinzendorf and his colleagues appeared likewise all on the sudden to have the same dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with the States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough. Many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majesty and France; for the adjusting of which, and some other points, the queen had lately dispatched the duke of Shrewsbury to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the most christian king would not be under a necessity of complying, when he had no farther occasion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides, the emperor and the States could very well spare her majesty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped, by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and succession, which were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which the two lords at Utrecht knew well how to make use of. The quarrel between mons. Mesnager and count Rechteren (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The French and Dutch differing in some circumstances, about the satisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the British plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days;

days; and in the mean time, pressed the Dutch to finish the new treaty of barrier and succession between her majesty and them, which about the middle of January was concluded fully to the queen's satisfaction.

But, while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war. She therefore sent orders to the lord privy seal and the earl of Strafford, to prepare every thing necessary for signing her own treaty with France. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of February; in which time, those among the allies who were really inclined towards a peace, might settle their several interests, by the assistance and support of her majesty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the negotiation, the heads of their respective demands, which France had yielded by her majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty; and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The pretender was not yet gone out of France, upon some difficulties alleged by the French, about procuring him a safe conduct to Bar-le-duc in the duke of Lorrain's dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared, "She would not sign the peace till that per-" son were removed;" although several wise men believed he could be no where less dangerous to Britain, than in the place where he was.

The

The argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new treaty of barrier and succession with Britain, was, her majesty's promise to procure Tournay for them from France; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republick; and consequently they had no farther temptations to any separate transactions with the French, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the Dutch. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by count Rechteren to mons. Mesnager, although somewhat softened by the British ministers at Utrecht, was yet so rigorous, that her majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most Christian king. Mons. Mesnager, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The abbé de Polignac, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to France, to receive the cardinal's cap; and the mareschal d'Uxelles was wholly guided by his colleague mons. Mesnager, who kept up those brangles that for a time obstructed the peace; some of which were against all justice, and others of small importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and less to the reputation of his master or himself. This low talent in business, which the cardinal de Polignac used, in contempt, to call a spirit of negotiating, made it impossible for the two lords plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring Mesnager to reason, in several points both with

with us and the States. His concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the towns which the States were to keep, he insisted, "That France should retain the chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly "that of Tournay;" a demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew his master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about those towns he had taken as far as he pleased to direct them. Mons. Mesnager showed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the elector of Bavaria, and in refusing the tariff of 1664: so that the queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of dangerous consequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations, her majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to France, where she had then so able a minister as the duke of Shrewsbury.

The marquis de Torcy, secretary to the most Christian king, was the minister with whom the duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his master to apply to the queen for a peace, in opposition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be, either here or in Holland.

It would be very unlike an historian, to refuse this great minister the praise he so justly deserves, of having treated, through the whole course of so great a negotiation, with the utmost candour and integrity;

integrity; never once failing in any promise he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his master's interest, with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. Prior, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at Paris, with the character of a minister plenipotentiary; and was very acceptable to that court, upon the score of his wit and humour.

The duke of Shrewsbury was directed to press the French court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns: To make them drop their unreasonable demands for the elector of Bavaria: To let them know, "That "the queen was resolved not to forsake her allies, "who were now ready to come in; that she "thought the best way of hastening the general "peace was, to determine her own particular one "with France, until which time she could not con- "veniently suffer her parliament to meet."

The States were by this time so fully convinced of the queen's sincerity and affection to their republick, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in England, that they wrote a very humble letter to her majesty, to desire her assistance towards settling those points they had in dispute with France, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation her majesty would please to make of the plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of February, 1712-13, directed the duke of Shrewsbury to inform the French court, "That, since she had prevailed on "her allies the Dutch to drop the demand of

" Condé, and the other of the four species of goods " which the French had excepted out of the tariff " of 1664, she would not sign without them: That " she approved of the Dutch insisting to have the " chatellanies restored with the towns; and was " resolved to stand or fall with them, until they " were satisfied in this point."

Her majesty had some apprehensions that the French created these difficulties, on purpose to spin out the treaty until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary that our parliament should meet in a few weeks; which could not well be ventured, until the queen were able to tell both houses, that her own peace was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between Britain and France, but leave the Dutch entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the French politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the duke of Shrewsbury, to let France know, " That " her majesty had hitherto prorogued her parlia- " ment, in hopes of accommodating the difficulties " in her own treaties of peace and commerce with " that crown, as well as settling the interests of " her several allies; or at least, that the differences " in the former being removed, the most Christian " king would have made such offers for the latter, " as might justify her majesty in signing her own " peace, whether the confederates intended to sign " theirs or not. But, several points being yet un- " finished between both crowns, and others between " France and the rest of the allies, especially the " States, to which the plenipotentiaries of that

" court

" court at Utrecht had not thought fit to give satis-
" faction; the queen was now come to a final de-
" termination, both with relation to her own king-
" doms, and to the whole alliance: That the cam-
" paign approaching, she would not willingly be
" surprised in case the war was to go on: That she
" had transmitted to the duke of Shrewsbury her
" last resolutions, and never would be prevailed on
" to reduce her own demands, or those of her al-
" lies, any lower than the scheme now sent over,
" as an explanation of the plan laid down in her
" speech: That her majesty had sent orders to her
" plenipotentiaries at Utrecht to assume the cha-
" racter of ambassadors, and sign the peace imme-
" diately with the ministers of the most Christian
" king, as soon as the duke of Shrewsbury should
" have sent them notice that the French had com-
" plied: That the queen had therefore farther pro-
" rogued her parliament to the third of March, in
" hopes to assure them, by that time, of her peace
" being agreed on; for, if the two houses should
" meet, while any uncertainty remained, supplies
" must be asked as for a war."

The duke of Shrewsbury executed this important commission with that speed and success, which could only be expected from an able minister. The French king immediately yielded to the whole scheme her majesty proposed; whereupon directions were sent to the lord privy seal, and the earl of Strafford, to sign a peace between Great Britain and France, without delay.

Upon the second day of March, the two British plenipotentiaries met those of the allies in the town-house at Utrecht; where the lord privy seal addressed

dressed himself to them in a short speech: "That "the negotiation had now continued fourteen "months with great slowness, which had proved "very injurious to the interests of the allies: That "the queen had staid thus long, and stopped the "finishing of her own peace, rather than leave her "allies in any uncertainty: That she hoped they "would now be all prepared to put an end to this "great work; and therefore had commanded her "plenipotentiaries to tell those of the allies, That "she found it necessary to conclude her own treaty "immediately; and it was her opinion, that the "confederates ought to finish theirs at the same "time; to which they were now accordingly in-"vited, by her majesty's orders." And lastly, his lordship declared, in the queen's name, "That "whoever could not be ready on the day prefixed, "should have a convenient time allowed them to "come in."

Although the orders sent by the queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them, they were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the Dutch, and most of the other allies, to conclude at the same time with the queen; which as it would certainly be more popular to their country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves. Besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they could not sign a particular peace with France; their powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their lordships

lordships therefore sent to England, to desire new powers; and, in the mean time, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of France and those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The earl of Strafford went for a few days to the Hague, to inform the States of her majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time: which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of mons. Buys, who was now so much altered, either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the earl of mons. Heinsius's slowness: and charged all the delays and mismanagements of a twelvemonth past, to that minister's account.

While the earl of Strafford staid at the Hague, he discovered that an emissary of the duke of Marlborough's had been there some days before, sent by his grace to dissuade the Dutch from signing at the same time with the ministers of the queen, which, in England, would at least have the appearance of a separate peace, and oblige their British friends, who knew how to turn so short a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the emperor; on whom, it was alleged, they ought to rely much more than on her majesty. One of the States likewise told the earl, "That the same person employed by the duke "was then in conference with the magistrates of "Rotterdam (which town had declared for the con-"tinuance of the war) to assure them, if they would

" hold off a little, they should see an unexpected " turn in the British parliament: That the duke of " Marlborough had a list of the discontented mem- " bers in both houses, who were ready to turn against " the court: and to crown all, that his grace had " certain intelligence of the queen being in so ill a " state of health, as made it impossible for her to " live above six weeks." So restless and indefatiga- ble are avarice and ambition, when inflamed by a desire of revenge!

But representations which had been so often tried, were now offered too late. Most of the allies, ex- cept the emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her majesty's plan; and the farther delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that liti- gious manner of treating peculiar to the French; whose plenipotentiaries at Utrecht insisted with ob- stinacy upon many points, which at Paris mons. de Torcy had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he already pos- sessed in Italy; that Port Longue, on the Tuscan coast, should be delivered to him by France; and lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce Spain. But the queen, as well as France, thought that his imperial majesty ought to sit down con- tented with his partage of Naples and Milan: and to restore those territories in Italy which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the pos- session of which he was grown dangerous to the Italian princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewise objected to her majesty's expedient of suffering the elector of Bavaria to re- tain Luxembourg, under certain conditions, by way of

of security, until his electorate were restored. But the queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the emperor's account.

In the middle of March 1712-13, a courier arrived at Utrecht from France, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the duke of Shrewsbury and mons. de Torcy; wherein every particular relating to the interests and pretensions of the several allies, was brought so near to what each of them would accept, that the British plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The Portuguese and Dutch were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by means of their lordships good offices, who found mons. Mesnager and his colleague very stubborn to the last. Another courier was dispatched to France, upon some disputes about inserting the titles of her majesty and the most christian king; and to bring a general plan for the interests of those allies, who should not be ready against the time prefixed. The French renunciations were now arrived at Utrecht; and it was agreed that those, as well as that of the king of Spain, should be inserted at length in every treaty; by which means the whole confederacy would become guarantees of them.

The courier last sent to France returned to Utrecht on the 27th of March, with the concessions of that court upon every necessary point; so that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the lord privy seal and the earl of

Strafford gave notice to the ministers of the several allies, " That their lordships had appointed Tuesday " the 31st instant, wherein to sign a treaty of peace " and a treaty of commerce, between the queen of " Great Britain their mistress, and the most christian " king; and hoped the said allies would be prepared " at the same time to follow their example." Accordingly their lordships employed the three intervening days, in smoothing the few difficulties that remained between the French ministers, and those of the several confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the lord bishop of Bristol and the earl of Strafford having assumed the character of ambassadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the French protestants to the mareschal d'Uxelles and his colleague, who were to transmit it to their court; and these delivered to the British ambassadors a declaration in writing, that the pretender was actually gone out of France.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the emperor and the empire, as adjusted between Britain and France, were now likewise delivered to the count Zinzendorf. These and some other previous matters of smaller consequence being finished, the treaties of peace and commerce between her majesty of Britain and the most christian king, were signed at the lord privy seal's house, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The ministers of the duke of Savoy signed about an hour after. Then the assembly adjourned to the earl of Strafford's, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was signed by the ministers of Portugal, by those

those of Prussia at eleven, and when it was near midnight, by the States.

Thus, after all the opposition raised by a strong party in France, and by a virulent faction in Britain; after all the artifices of those who presided at the Hague, who, for their private interest, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in England, to prolong the war; after the restless endeavours of the imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm steady conduct of the queen, the wisdom and courage of her ministry, and the abilities of those whom she employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a peace signed in one day, by every power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire; for, his imperial majesty liked his situation too well, to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expenses of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himself.

During this whole negotiation, the king of Spain, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no minister at Utrecht; but the differences between her majesty and that prince, were easily settled by the lord Lexington at Madrid, and the marquis of Monteleon here: so that, upon the duke d'Ossuna's arrival at the congress, some days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the Dutch, or any other ally, except the emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their several treaties with his catholick majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and France were ratified here on the 7th

of April; on the 28th, the ratifications were exchanged; and on the 5th of May, the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occasion.

SOME

FREE THOUGHTS

UPON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

AFFAIRS:

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1714.

ABOUT a month before the demise of queen Anne, the dean having laboured to reconcile the ministers to each other without success, retired to the house of a friend in Berkshire, and never saw them more. But during this retreat he wrote the following treatise, which he thought might be of some use even in that juncture, and sent it up to London to be printed; but, upon some difference in opinion between the author and the late lord Bolingbroke, the publication was delayed till the queen's death, and then he recalled his copy: it was afterwards placed in the hands of the late alderman Barber, from whom it was obtained to be printed. The ruin of the ministry, by this animosity among themselves, was long foreseen and foretold by Swift, and it appears by lord Bolingbroke's letter to sir William Wyndham, that in his heart he renounced his friendship for Oxford long before the conclusion of the peace, though it did not appear till afterwards. "The peace," says he, "which had been judged to be the only solid foundation where-"upon we could erect a tory system, and yet when it was made we "found ourselves at a stand; nay the very work, which ought "to have been the basis of our strength, was in part demolished "before our eyes, and we were stoned with the ruins of it." This event probably rendered the disunion of the ministry visible; some, principally endeavouring to secure themselves, some, still labouring to establish at all events the party they had espoused, which saw nothing but, "increase of mortification, and nearer approaches to "ruin:" and it is not to be wondered at, that when this treatise was written, the dean's attempts to reconcile his friends were unsuccessful; for Bolingbroke declares, that he abhorred Oxford to such a degree, that he would rather have suffered banishment or death, than have taken measures in concert with him to have avoided either.

SOME

FREE THOUGHTS, ETC.

WHATEVER may be thought or practised by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reasonable part of mankind, that the most plain, short, easy, safe, and lawful way to any good end, is not more eligible, than one directly contrary to some or all of these qualities. I have been frequently assured by great ministers, that politicks were nothing but common sense; which, as it was the only true thing they spoke, so it was the only thing they could have wished I should not believe. God has given the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason, when it is fairly offered; and by reason they would easily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Those princes in all ages, who were most distinguished for their mysterious skill in government, found by the event, that they had ill consulted their own quiet, or the ease and happiness of their people; nor has posterity remembered them with honour: such as Lysander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the Sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia, queen Catherine de Medicis, Philip the Second of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples less frequent of ministers,

famed

famed for men of great intrigue*, whose politicks have produced little more than murmurings, factions, and discontents, which usually terminated in the disgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can recollect but three occasions in a state, where the talents of such men may be thought necessary; I mean in a state where the prince is obeyed and loved by his subjects: first, in the negotiation of the peace; secondly, in adjusting the interests of our own country, with those of the nations round us, watching the several motions of our neighbours and allies, and preserving a due balance among them: lastly, in the management of parties and factions at home. In the first of these cases I have often heard it observed, that plain good sense, and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all those arts, which I remember a great foreign minister used in contempt to call the spirit of negotiating. In the second case, much wisdom, and a thorough knowledge in affairs both foreign and domestick, are certainly required: after which, I know no talents necessary beside method and skill in the common forms of business. In the last case, which is that of managing parties, there seems indeed to be more occasion for employing this gift of the lower politicks, whenever the tide runs high against the court and ministry; which seldom happens under any tolerable administration, while the true interest of the nation is pursued. But, here in England, (for I do not pretend to establish maxims of go-

* This expression, '*famed for men* of deep intrigue,' is very inaccurate; it should be—'famed for *being* men,' &c.—Or, 'famed *as* men of deep intrigue.'

vernment

vernment in general) while the prince and ministry, the clergy, the majority of landed men, and the bulk of the people appear to have the same views and the same principles, it is not obvious to me, how those at the helm can have many opportunities of showing their skill in mystery and refinement, beside what themselves think fit to create.

I have been assured by men long practised in business, that the secrets of court are much fewer than we generally suppose; and I hold it for the greatest secret of court, that they are so: because the first springs of great events, like those of great rivers, are often so mean and so little, that in decency they ought to be hid: and therefore ministers are so wise to leave* their proceedings to be accounted for by reasoners at a distance, who often mould them into systems, that do not only go down very well in the coffee-house, but are supplies for pamphlets in the present age, and may probably furnish materials for memoirs and histories in the next.

It is true indeed, that even those who are very near the court, and are supposed to have a large share in the management of publick matters, are apt to deduce wrong consequences, by reasoning upon the causes and motives of those actions, wherein themselves are employed. A great minister puts you a case, and asks your opinion, but conceals an essential circumstance, upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he despises your understanding for counselling him no better, and concludes

* It should be—'so wise *as* to leave,' &c.

he

he ought to trust entirely to his own wisdom. Thus he grows to abound in secrets and reserves, even toward those with whom he ought to act in the greatest confidence and concert: and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the issue and event, it was all foreseen, contrived, and brought to pass by some masterstroke of his politicks.

I could produce innumerable instances, from my own memory and observation, of events imputed to the profound skill and address of a minister, which in reality were either the mere effects of negligence, weakness, humour, passion, or pride; or at best, but the natural course of things left to themselves.

During this very session of parliament, a most ingenious gentleman, who has much credit with those in power, would needs have it, that in the late dissensions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a secret, the whole matter was carried with the utmost dexterity on one side, and with manifest ill conduct on the other. To prove this he made use of the most plausible topicks, drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned, as well as of her majesty; all which he knows as much of as any man: and gave me a detail of the whole with such an appearance of probability, as committed to writing would pass for an admirable piece of secret history. Yet I am at the same time convinced by the strongest reasons, that the issue of those dissensions, as to the part they had in the court and the house of lords, was partly owing to very different causes, and partly to the situation of affairs, whence, in that conjuncture,

juncture, they could not easily terminate otherwise than they did, whatever unhappy consequences they may have for the future.

In like manner I have heard a physician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured so many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the small-pox; whereas in truth nine parts in ten of those who recovered, owed their lives to the strength of nature and a good constitution, while such a one happened to be their doctor.

But, while it is so difficult to learn the springs and motives of some facts, and so easy to forget the circumstances of others, it is no wonder they should be so grossly misrepresented to the publick by curious inquisitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and in reasoning upon affairs of state, are sure to be mistaken by searching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent errour of many others, so I am sure it has been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to discover the causes of political events by refinement and conjecture; which I must acknowledge has very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii;* whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any administration, it is just so much the better.

What I have hitherto said, has by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requisite in those, who are trusted with the administration of publick affairs; on the contrary, I know no station of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are so highly necessary, and where the want of any is so quickly or universally felt. A great minister has no virtue, for which the publick may not be

the better; nor any defect, by which the publick is not certainly a sufferer. I have known more than once or twice within four years past, an omission, in appearance very small, prove almost fatal to a whole scheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always sufficient for the person at the helm, that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he has great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much secrecy, was a character of any advantage to a minister, because it put all other men upon their guard to be as secret as he, and was consequently the occasion that persons and things were always misrepresented to him: because likewise, too great an affectation of secrecy, is usually thought to be attended with those little intrigues and refinements, which, among the vulgar, denominate a man a great politician; but among others, is apt, whether deservedly or not, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent, which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying secrets, may not be carried on so far, as to stop that communication which is necessary, in some degree, among all who have any considerable part in the management of publick affairs: because I have observed the inconveniencies arising from a want of love between those who were to give directions, to have been of as ill consequence, as any that could happen from the discovery of secrets. I suppose, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is sufficient that the

the under-workmen be ordered to cut stones into certain shapes, and place them in certain positions: but the several master builders must have some general knowledge of the design, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able minister, than that of rightly adapting the several faculties of men; nor is any thing more to be lamented, than the impracticableness of doing this in any great degree, under our present circumstances; while so many shut themselves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others, who desire to sell their vote or their interest, as dear as they can. But whether this has not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it has not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the inquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider, in some lights, the state of affairs among us for four years past. The queen, finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politicks, and destructive principles of her former ministers, calls to the service of the publick another set of men who, by confession of their enemies, had equal abilities at least with their predecessors; whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state; whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation: and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship:

friendship : with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferiour clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge ; neither does it appear to me at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security : which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies, as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes, as their effects.

Nothing has given me greater indignation, than to behold a ministry, who came in with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the defensive in the house of lords, with a majority on their side ; and instead of calling others to account, as it was reasonably expected, mispending their time, and losing many opportunities of doing good, because a struggling faction kept them continually in play. This courage among the adversaries of the court, was inspired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the ministers, or, (if that was the case) the minister alone is to answer.

For, first, that race of politicians, who in the cant phrase are called the *whimsicals**, was never so numerous, or at least so active, as it has been since the great change at court ; many of those who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which

* Whimsicals, were tories who had been eager for the conclusion of the peace till the treaties were perfected, then they could come up to no direct approbation; in the clamour raised about the danger of

which her majesty and her new servants proceeded, either absenting themselves with the utmost indifference, in those conjunctures whereon the whole cause depended, or siding directly with the enemy.

I very well remember, when this ministry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among such as are called the higher tories or churchmen, that quicker progress was not made in removing those of the discontented party out of employments. I remember likewise, the reasonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inside of the court; some supposed the queen was at first prevailed upon to make that great change, with no other view, than that of acting for the future upon a moderating scheme, in order to reconcile both parties; and I believe there might possibly have been some grounds for this supposition. Others conceived the employments were left undisposed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates, than ever could be gratified. This has since been looked on as a very high strain of politicks, and to have succeeded accordingly; because it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined; and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all

of the succession, they joined the whigs, and declared directly against their party, and affected in most other points a most glorious neutrality. See Bolin. Lett. to Wynd. p. 48, 49.

As party-man, who leaves the rest,
Is call'd but *whimsical* at best.

PRIOR, Alma, iii. 125.

opposition from the other side; because, in the nature of things, it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament; and a faction already odious to the people, might be suffered to continue with less danger, than any new one that could arise. To confirm this it was said, that the majority in the house of commons was too great on the side of the high-church, and began to form themselves into a body (by the name of the October club) in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain that none of these excuses were able to pass among men, who argued only from the principles of general reason. For first, they looked upon all schemes of comprehension, to be as visionary and impossible in the state, as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming in themselves, as to see their enemies out, and deprived of all assistance to do mischief: and it is urged farther, that this general ambition of hunting after places, grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and from too general an encouragement by promises to all, who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating another party, in case the present faction were wholly subdued,

dued, was, in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the situation of our affairs, too great a sacrifice of the nation's safety to the genius of politicks; considering how much was to be done, and how little time might probably be allowed. Besides, the division of a house of commons into court and country parties, which was the evil they seemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good ministry, who had the true interest and constitution of their country at heart: as for the apprehension of too great a majority in the house of commons, it appeared to be so vain, that upon some points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October club, which appeared so formidable at first to some politicians, proved in the sequel to be the chief support of those who suspected them. It was likewise very well known that the greatest part of those men, whom the former ministry left in possession of employments, were loudly charged with insufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; so that it would have been a matter of some difficulty to make a worse choice: beside that the plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment upon the score of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and construed to take in all employments whatsoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would serve to qualify a gentleman-usher at court: so that this last excuse for the very slow steps made in disarming the adversaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plausibility, but less truth, than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counsels or

actions of the present ministry: their safety and interest are visibly united with those of the publick, they are persons of unquestionable abilities, altogether unsuspected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be farther recommended by the dread and hatred of the opposite faction. However, it is manifest that the zeal of their friends has been cooling toward them for above two years past: they have been frequently deserted or distressed upon the most pressing occasions, and very near giving up in despair: their characters have been often treated with the utmost barbarity and injustice, in both houses, by scurrilous and enraged orators; while their nearest friends, and even those who must have a share in their disgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myself what occasions the ministry may have given for this coldness, inconstancy, and discontent among their friends, I at the same time recollect the various conjectures, reasonings, and suspicions, which have run so freely for three years past, concerning the designs of the court: I do not only mean such conjectures, as are born in a coffeehouse, or invented by the malice of a party; but also the conclusions (however mistaken) of wise and good men, whose quality and station fitted them to understand the reason of publick proceedings, and in whose power it lay to recommend or disgrace an administration to the people. I must therefore take the boldness to assert, that all these discontents, how ruinous soever they may prove in the consequences, have most unnecessarily arisen from the want of a due communication and concert. Every man must have a light sufficient

sufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go: there is a degree of confidence due to all stations: and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully nor wisely, without that share of it which properly belongs to him: although the main spring of a watch be out of sight, there is an intermediate communication between it and the smallest wheel, or else no useful motion could be performed. This reserved mysterious way of acting, upon points, where there appeared not the least occasion for it, and toward persons, who, at least in right of their posts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of. Those who professed the height of what is called the church principle, suspected, that a comprehension was intended, wherein the moderate men on both sides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded such a comprehension, as directly tending to bring the old exploded principles and persons once more into play. Again, some affected to be uneasy about the succession, and seemed to think there was a view of introducing that person, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others, especially of late, surmised on the contrary, that the demands of the house of Hanover were industriously fomented by some in power, without the privity of the —— or ——. Now, although these accusations were too inconsistent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciously suffered to pass, and thereby took off much of that popularity, of which those at the helm stood in need, to support them under the difficulties of a long perplexing ne-

gotiation, a daily addition of publick debts, and an exhausted treasury.

But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here: for, the late dissensions between the great men at court (which have been, for some time past, the publick entertainment of every coffeehouse) are said to have arisen from the same fountain; while, on one side very great reserve, and certainly very great resentment on the other*, if we may believe general report (for I pretend to know no farther) have inflamed animosities to such a height, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accomplished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honour, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a most gracious princess, who has entrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gunshot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the desertion of friends, and loss of reputation have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations, if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be ruined: and their preservation hitherto seems to resemble his, who had

* Lord Oxford's reserve was the cauſe of Bolingbroke's resentment.

two

two poisons given him together of contrary operations.

It may seem very impertinent in one of my level, to point out to those, who sit at the helm, what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible, how mean an opinion great ministers have of most men's understandings; to a degree, that in any other science, would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said, will be to no purpose.

The general wishes and desires of a people, are perhaps more obvious to other men, than to ministers of state. There are two points of the highest importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers and privileges; all doctrines relating to government discouraged, which she condemns; all schisms, sects and heresies discountenanced, and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations) not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power; and her secret adversaries, under the names of whigs, low church, republicans, moderation-men, and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation.

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts, for three years past, and asserted as the avowed resolution of the court, there must probably have been an end of faction, which has

been able, ever since, with so much vigour to disturb and insult the administration. I know very well, that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours: I have said something of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topicks upon the subject. But I shall not argue that matter at present: I suppose, if a man think it necessary to play with a serpent, he will choose one of a kind that is least mischievous; otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it may have life enough to sting him to death. So, I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least in this juncture: first, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state: secondly, because they are highly irritated with the loss of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can suggest: but principally, because they have prevailed, by misrepresentations, and other artifices, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons he can trust: upon which account they cannot be too soon, or too much disabled: neither will England ever be safe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their strength and interests shall be so far reduced, that for the future it shall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to choose an ill majority in the house of commons.

One step very necessary to this great work will be, to regulate the army, and chiefly those troops which, in their turns, have the care of her majesty's person; who are most of them fitter to guard

guard a prince under a high court of justice, than seated on the throne. The peculiar hand of Providence has hitherto preserved her majesty, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but since religion teaches us, that Providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill venturing to trust that precious life any longer to those, who, by their publick behaviour and discourse, discover their impatience to see it at an end; that they may have liberty to be the instruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own. It should be well remembered, what a satisfaction these gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were so sanguine to express upon the queen's last illness at Windsor, and what threatenings they used of refusing to obey their general, in case that illness had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect, that in such an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleased with the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so long unsheathed, until they were got rid of their most formidable adversaries. In the mean time it must be a very melancholy prospect, that whenever it shall please God to visit us with this calamity, those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power, will stand ready for any acts of violence, that a junto composed of the greatest enemies to the constitution, shall think fit to enjoin them.

The other point of great importance is, the security of the protestant succession in the house of Hanover: not from any partiality to that illustrious house, farther than as it has had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, and is the nearest branch

branch of our regal line reformed from popery. This point has one advantage over the former, that both parties profess to desire the same blessing for posterity, but differ about the means of securing it. Whence it has come to pass, that the protestant succession, in appearance the desire of the whole nation, has proved the greatest topick of slander, jealousy, suspicion and discontent.

I have been so curious to ask* several acquaintances among the opposite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really suspect there had been ever any design in the ministry to weaken the succession in favour of the Pretender, or of any other person whatsoever. Some of them freely answered in the negative: others were of the same opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations: others again seemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plausible grounds for their belief. I have likewise been assured by a person of some consequence, that during a very near and constant familiarity with the great men at court for four years past, he never could observe, even in those hours of conversation where there is usually least restraint, that one word ever passed among them to show a dislike to the present settlement; although they would sometimes lament, that the false representations of theirs, and the kingdom's enemies, had made some impressions in the mind of the successor. As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can safely affirm, that excepting those who are nonjurors by profession, I have not met with above two persons

* It should be—'so curious *as* to ask.'

who

who appeared to have any scruples concerning the present limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of those, who wish to see the son of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconsiderable. And farther, I believe it will be found, that there are none who so much dread any attempt he shall make for the recovery of his imagined rights, as the Roman Catholicks of England; who love their freedom and properties too well to desire his entrance by a French army, and a field of blood; who must continue upon the same foot, if he changes his religion, and must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers, if he should happen to fail.

As to the person of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of disadvantages: the vulgar imagine him to have been a child imposed upon the nation by the fraudulent zeal of his parents, and their bigotted counsellors; who took special care, against all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful superstition, sucked in with his milk, and confirmed in his manhood, too strongly to be now shaken by Mr. Lesley; and a counterfeit conversion will be too gross to pass upon the kingdom, after what we have seen and suffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewise said to be of weak intellectuals, and an unsound constitution: he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a small exhibition: he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle: his father's friends are

most

most of them dead, the rest antiquated or poor. Six and twenty years have almost past since the revolution, and the bulk of those who are now most in action either at court, in parliament, or publick offices, were then boys at school or the universities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logick of the highest tories is now, that this was the establishment they found, as soon as they arrived at a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore had no crime to answer for, if it were any: that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in pursuance of laws made ever since their remembrance, by which all papists are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by: that they will no more dispute king William the Third's title, than king William the First's; since they must have recourse to history for both: that they have been instructed in the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right, and find them all necessary for preserving the present establishment in church and state, and for continuing the succession in the house of Hanover, and must in their own opinion renounce all those doctrines by setting up any other title to the crown. This, I say, seems to be the political creed of all the high principled men I have for some time met with of forty years old and under; which although I do not pretend to justify in every part, yet I am sure it sets the protestant succession upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigested schemes of those who profess to act upon what they call revolution principles.

Neither

Neither should it perhaps be soon forgotten, that during the greatest licentiousness of the press, while the sacred character of the queen was every day insulted in factious papers and ballads, not the least reflecting insinuation ever appeared against the Hanover family, whatever occasion was offered to intemperate pens, by the rashness or indiscretion of one or two ministers from thence.

From all these considerations I must therefore lay it down as an uncontestable truth, that the succession to these kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover, is as firmly secured as the nature of the thing can possibly admit; by the oaths of all those who are entrusted with any office, by the very principles of those who are termed the high church, by the general inclinations of the people, by the insignificancy of that person who claims it from inheritance, and the little assistance he can expect either from princes abroad, or adherents at home.

However, since the virulent opposers of the queen and her administration, have so far prevailed by their emissaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant, unmannerly messengers from thence, as to make the elector desire some farther security, and send over a memorial here to that end: the great question is, how to give reasonable satisfaction to his highness, and (what is infinitely of greater consequence) at the same time consult the honour and safety of the queen, whose quiet possession is of much more consequence to us of the present age, than his reversion. The substance of his memorial, if I retain it right, is, to desire that some one of his family might live in England, with such a maintenance as is usual to those of the

the royal blood, and that certain titles should be conferred upon the rest, according to ancient custom. The memorial does not specify which of the family should be invited to reside here; and if it had, I believe however, her majesty would have looked upon it as a circumstance left to her own choice.

But, as all this is most manifestly unnecessary in itself, and only in compliance with the mistaken doubts of a presumptive heir; so the nation would (to speak in the language of Mr. Steele) expect, that her majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future; no more to be alarmed with apprehensions of visits, or demands of writs *, where she has not thought fit to give any invitation. The nation would likewise expect, that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court, and the leaders of a party here; and that his electoral highness should declare himself entirely satisfied with all her majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in her most gracious condescensions to his request: that he would upon all proper occasions, and in the most publick manner, discover his utter dislike of factious persons and principles, but especially of that party, which, under the pretence or shelter of his protection, has so long disquieted the kingdom: and lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the queen, and justice of the nation, in so fully securing the succession to his family.

* Baron Schutz, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, demanded a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers as duke of Cambridge, and it was expected that his highness would have made a visit to the court of London.

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought themselves so perfectly secure in the affections, the principles, and the professions of the low church party, should not have endeavoured, according to the usual politicks of princes, to gain over those who were represented as their enemies; since these supposed enemies had made so many advances, were in possession of all the power, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim; had all of them abjured the pretender; were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both houses of parliament. Not to mention, that the queen herself, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This, one would think, might be a strength sufficient not only to obstruct, but to bestow a succession: and since the presumed heir could not but be perfectly secure of the other party, whose greatest avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights; it must therefore surely have been worth his while, to have made at least one step toward cultivating a fair correspondence with the power in possession. Neither could those, who are called his friends, have blamed him, or with the least decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why might not the reasons of this proceeding in the elector, be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his highness is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can easily be shaken in his

his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation. That these are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the others, from a true notion he has of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of interest or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his highness cannot sure but entertain a very high esteem of such ministers, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a successor's utmost displeasure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is supposed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of British affairs, and persons, by their opinions.

But to return from this digression: the presence of that infant prince * among us, could not, I think, in any sort be inconsistent with the safety of the queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or exposed in his person by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court, by affecting German modes and refinements in dress or behaviour: nor would there be any occasion of insinuating to him, how much more his levee was frequented, than the antechamber of St. James's. Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of government, each so very different from

* The infant prince was the son of the electoral prince of Hanover, who might be chosen to reside here in consequence of the memorial.

thos

those he would leave behind. By which likewise he might be highly useful to his father, if that prince should happen to survive her majesty.

The late king William, who after his marriage with the lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband (the duke of York having a young wife) was no stranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princess; which I observe the rather, because I could heartily wish the like disposition were in another court, and because it may be disagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a sudden, or speak to his subjects by an interpreter.

An illnatured or inquisitive man may still, perhaps, desire to press the question farther, by asking, what is to be done, in case it should so happen, that this malevolent working party at home, has credit enough with the court of Hanover, to continue the suspicion, jealousy, and uneasiness there, against the queen and her ministry; to make such demands be still insisted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with; and in the mean time to stand at arm's length with her majesty, and in close conjunction with those who oppose her.

I take the answer to be easy: in all contests, the safest way is to put those we dispute with, as much in the wrong as we can. When her majesty shall have offered such, or the like concessions, as I have abovementioned, in order to remove those scruples artificially raised in the mind of the expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is supposed to have been misled; she has done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would

probably do in her case; and will be justified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of those, who now side against the court, will probably be more temperate; and if a due dispatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of such as wish well to the constitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or interest of a successor to gratify so small a faction, as will probably then remain, at the expense of a much more numerous and considerable part of his subjects. Neither do I see how the principles of such a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, because I think Luther and Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers: and because a German prince will probably be suspicious of those, who think they can never depress the prerogative enough.

But supposing, once for all, as far as possible, that the elector should utterly refuse to be upon any terms of confidence with the present ministry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the succession; nor easy with the queen herself, but upon such conditions as will not be thought consistent with her safety and honour; and continue to place all his hopes and trust in the discontented party: I think it were humbly to be wished, that whenever the succession shall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince, should be made by himself, and not by his deputies: because I am of opinion, that the clause empowering the successor to appoint a latent, unlimited number, additional to the seven regents named in the act, went upon a supposition, that the secret committee would be of such, whose enmity and contrary principles disposed them

them to confound the rest. King William, whose title was much more controverted than that of her majesty's successor can ever probably be, did, for several years, leave the administration of the kingdom in the hands of lords justices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himself was frequently attempting an invasion: whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demise of the crown, would be able to keep the peace during an absence of a few weeks without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reason, why a power was given of choosing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a necessity to invite over any of the family here, during her majesty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the elector can use to insist upon both.

To conclude; the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very protestant succession itself, will be by lessening the power of our domestick adversaries as much as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government; and if this be not speedily done, it will be easy to point where the nation is to fix the blame: for we are well assured, that since the account her majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behaviour of the whole faction, during her late illness at Windsor, she has been as willing to see them deprived of all power to do mischief, as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire.

MEMOIRS,

RELATING TO THAT CHANGE WHICH HAPPENED IN THE QUEEN'S MINISTRY IN THE YEAR 1710.

HAVING continued for near the space of four years in a good degree of confidence with the ministry then in being, although not with so much power as was believed, or at least given out by my friends, as well as by my enemies, especially the latter, in both houses of parliament; and this having happened during a very busy period of negotiations abroad, and management of intrigue at home; I thought it might probably, some years hence, when the present scene shall have given place to many new ones that will arise, be an entertainment to those who will have any personal regard for me or my memory, to set down some particularities which fell under my knowledge and observation, while I was supposed, whether truly or not, to have part in the secret of affairs.

One circumstance I am a little sorry for, that I was too negligent (against what I had always resolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints, or journals of every material as it passed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thousand instances, of the weakness of my memory. But, to say the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court,

the less he thinks them of consequence, or worth regarding. And those kind of passages which I have with curiosity found or searched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the first hand, or were such wherein I acted myself. This I take to be one among other reasons, why great ministers seldom give themselves the trouble of recording the important parts of that administration, where they themselves are at the head. They have extinguished all that vanity, which usually possesses men, during their first acquaintance at courts; and like the masters of a puppetshow, they despise those motions, which fill common spectators with wonder and delight. However, upon frequently recollecting the course of affairs during the time I was either trusted or employed; I am deceived, if in history there can be found any period, more full of passages, which the curious of another age, would be glad to know the secret springs of; or whence more useful instructions may be gathered, for directing the conduct of those, who shall hereafter have the good or ill-fortune, to be engaged in business of the state.

It may probably enough happen, that those who shall at any time hereafter peruse these papers, may think it not suitable to the nature of them, that upon occasion I sometimes make mention of myself; who, during these transactions, and ever since, was a person without titles or publick employment. But, since the chief leaders of the faction then out of power, were pleased, in both houses of parliament, to take every opportunity of showing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the secret of all affairs, and without whose advice

or privity nothing was done, or employment disposed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of some passages, wherein the publick and myself were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cause of giving myself this trouble, is, to satisfy my particular friends; and at worst, if, after the fate of manuscripts, these papers shall, by accident or indiscretion, fall into the publick view, they will be no more liable to censure than other memoirs, published for many years past, in English, French, and Italian. The period of time I design to treat on will commence with September 1710; from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never absent from court, except about six weeks in Ireland.

But, because the great change of employments in her majesty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun some months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. Sacheverell's trial, while I was absent, and lived retired in Ireland; I shall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, some particulars I learned from the earl of Oxford, the lord viscount Bolingbroke, the lady Masham, and doctor Atterbury, who were best able to inform me.

I have often with great earnestness pressed the earl of Oxford, then lord treasurer, and my lady Masham, who were the sole persons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumstance and passage, during that whole transaction. Nor did this request proceed from curiosity, or the ambition of knowing and publishing important secrets; but from a sincere honest design of justifying the queen, in the measures

sures she then took, and afterwards pursued, against a load of scandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with some appearance of truth. It was easy to foresee, even at that distance, that the queen could not live many years; and it was sufficiently known what party was most in the good graces of the successor, and consequently, what turns would be given by historians, to her majesty's proceedings, under a reign, where directly contrary measures would probably be taken. For instance, what would be more easy to a malicious pen, than to charge the queen with inconstancy, weakness, and ingratitude, in removing and disgracing the duke of Marlborough, who had so many years commanded her armies with victory and success; in displacing so many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whose counsels she had, in all appearance, so prosperously governed; in extending the marks of her severity and displeasure, toward the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that person, she had so long employed, and so highly trusted; and all this, by the private intrigues of a woman of her bedchamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be supposed to have acted that bold part, only from a motive of revenge upon the loss of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

These were some of the arguments I often made use of, with great freedom, both to the earl of Oxford, and my lady Masham, to incite them to furnish me with materials for a fair account of that great transaction; to which they always seemed as well disposed as myself. My lady Masham did likewise assure me, that she had frequently informed

the queen of my request; which her majesty thought very reasonable, and did appear, upon all occasions, as desirous of preserving reputation with posterity, as might justly become a great prince to be. But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the earl of Oxford, did, in some sort, infect every one who had credit or business in the court: for, after soliciting near four years, to obtain a point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

The scheme I offered was, to write her majesty's reign; and that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the historiographer's place, although of inconsiderable value, and of which I might be sure to be deprived upon the queen's death. This negligence in the queen, the earl of Oxford, and my lady Masham, is the cause that I can give but an imperfect account of the first springs of that great change at court, after the trial of doctor Sacheverell; my memory not serving me to retain all the facts related to me: but what I remember I shall here set down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a person who understood more artificially to disguise her passions than the late queen. Upon her first coming to the throne, the duchess of Marlborough had lost all favour with her, as her majesty has often acknowledged to those who have told it me. That lady had long preserved an ascendant over her mistress while she was princess; which her majesty, when she came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor spirit

spirit to subdue. This princess was so exact an observer of forms, that she seemed to have made it her study, and would often descend so low as to observe, in her domesticks of either sex who came into her presence, whether a ruffle, a periwig, or the lining of a coat, were unsuitable at certain times. The duchess, on the other side, who had been used to great familiarities, could not take it into her head that any change of station should put her upon changing her behaviour; the continuance of which was the more offensive to her majesty, whose other servants *, of the greatest quality, did then treat her with the utmost respect.

The earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he kept his office till the general change. I have heard several reasons given for her majesty's early disgust against that lord. The duchess, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to solicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her; which her majesty liked the worse, as knowing whence they originally came: and his lordship, although he endeavoured to be as respectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occasions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the duke of Marlborough she was wholly indifferent, (as her nature in general prompted her to be) until his restless impatient behaviour had turned her against him.

The queen had not a stock of amity to serve above one object at a time; and, farther than a bare

* 'Was *the more* offensive to her majesty, whose other servants,' &c. This is ungrammatical; it should be—'was *the more* offensive to her majesty, as her other servants,' &c.

good

good or ill opinion, which she soon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, she could hardly be said either to love or to hate any body. She grew so jealous upon the change of her servants, that often, out of fear of being imposed upon, by an over caution she would impose upon herself: she took a delight in refusing those who were thought to have greatest power with her, even in the most reasonable things, and such as were necessary for her service; nor would let them be done, till she fell into the humour of it herself.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majesty had gradually conceived a most rooted aversion from the duke and duchess of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin; which spread in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the earl of Hertford, whose ungovernable temper had made him fail in his personal respects to her majesty. This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's resolutions to make a change of some officers both in her family and kingdom; and that these resolutions did not proceed from any real apprehension she had of danger to the church or monarchy: for, although she had been strictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and discipline, yet she was not so ready to foresee any attempts against it by the party then presiding. But the fears that most influenced her, were such as concerned her own power and prerogative, which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments upon *, by their undutiful behaviour and

* 'Were making daily encroachments *upon*,' &c. This mode of separating the preposition from the word to which it belongs, and placing

and unreasonable demands. The deportment of the duchess of Marlborough, while the prince lay expiring, was of such a nature, that the queen, then in the height of grief, was not able to bear it; but with marks of displeasure in her countenance, she ordered the duchess to withdraw, and send Mrs. Masham to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before prince George's death. This prince had long conceived an incurable aversion from that party, and was resolved to use his utmost credit with the queen his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which seemed to favour this attempt; for the queen, resolving to bestow a regiment upon Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, signified her pleasure to the duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refused his consent, and retired in anger to the country. After some heats, the regiment was given to a third person. But the queen resented this matter so highly, which she thought had been promoted by the earl of Godolphin, that she resolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. St. John carried a letter from her majesty to the duke of Marlborough, signifying her resolution to take the staff from the earl of Godolphin, and that she expected his grace's compliance; to which the duke returned a very humble answer.

placing it at the end of a sentence, is a bad arrangement, and should be avoided as much as possible. How much better would the sentence run by restoring it to its proper place! as thus—'*Upon* which those nearest about her were making daily encroachments, by their undutiful behaviour,' &c.

I cannot

I cannot engage for this passage, it having never come into my head to ask Mr. St. John about it: but the account Mr. Harley and he gave me was, That the duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin, had concerted with them upon a moderating scheme, wherein some of both parties should be employed, but with a more favourable aspect toward the church: That a meeting was appointed for completing this work: That in the mean time, the duke and duchess of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin, were secretly using their utmost efforts with the queen, to turn Mr. Harley (who was then secretary of state) and all his friends, out of their employments: That the queen, on the other side, who had a great opinion of Mr. Harley's integrity and abilities, would not consent: and was determined to remove the earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the season of the year when the duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders; and the very night in which Mr. Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the earl of Godolphin, George Churchill the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highness, "That the "duke was firmly determined to lay down his com-"mand, if the earl of Godolphin went out, or Mr. "Harley and his friends were suffered to continue "in." The prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the queen; and the time and service pressing, her majesty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment; and the next morning, the duke, at his levee, said aloud in a careless manner, to those who stood round him, "That Mr. Harley was turned out."

Upon

Upon the prince's death, November 1708, the two great lords so often mentioned, who had been for some years united with the low church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promises, which his highness had ever most strenuously opposed. The lord Somers was made president of the council, the earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland, and some others of the same stamp were put into considerable posts.

It should seem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart so much power to those of that party, who expected these removals for some years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingness to have them employed. And I remember, some months before his highness's death, my lord Somers, who is a person of reserve enough, complained to me, with great freedom, of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the service he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither shall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other service to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil which my lord Godolphin had brought upon us, by persuading the queen to pass the *Scotch act of security*. But to return from this digression.

Upon the admission of these men into employments, the court soon ran into extremity of low church measures; and although, in the house of commons, Mr. Harley, sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and some others, made great and bold stands

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in defence of the constitution, yet they were always born down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the rash counsels of his wife the duchess, made that bold attempt, of desiring the queen to give him a commission to be general for life. Her majesty's answer was, " That she would take time to consider " it ;" and in the mean while, the duke advised with the lord Cowper, then chancellor, about the form in which the commission should be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to dissuade the duke from engaging in so dangerous an affair, and protested, " he would never " put the great seal to such a commission." But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke ; and talked to a person whom she had taken into confidence, as if she apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The duke of Argyle, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under great obligations to the duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high station in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious spirit, never easy while there was any one above him, made him, upon some trifling resentments, conceive an inveterate hatred against his general. When he was consulted what course should be taken upon the duke of Marlborough's request to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refusal ;

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I was told, he suddenly answered, "That her ma-
"jesty need not be in pain; for he would undertake,
"whenever she commanded, to seize the duke at the
"head of his troops, and bring him away either dead
"or alive."

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which arose from a foolish passionate pique of the earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was supposed, in a sermon, to have reflected on under the name of Volpone, as my lord Somers, a few months after, confessed to me; and at the same time, that he had earnestly and in vain endeavoured to dissuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on, in the form and manner which every body knows; and therefore there need not be any thing said of it here.

Mr. Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Masham, privately brought to the queen; and in some meetings, easily convinced her majesty of the dispositions of her people, as they appeared in the course of that trial, in favour of the church, and against the measures of those in her service. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. Harley was able to procure this private access to the queen; the duchess of Marlborough, by her emissaries, watching all the avenues to the back stairs, and upon all occasions discovering their jealousy of him; whereof he told me a passage, no otherwise worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an insolent, jealous minister, who would wholly engross the power and favour of his sovereign. Mr. Harley, upon his removal from the secretary's office, by the intrigues of the duke of Marlborough and

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the earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of these two lords near Kensington gate. The earl, in a high fit of jealousy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately seeing Mr. Harley, and was hardly so civil as to be convinced, by her majesty's frequent protestations to the contrary.

These suspicions, I say, made it hard for her majesty and Mr. Harley to have private interviews: neither had he made use of the opportunities he met with to open himself so much to her, as she seemed to expect, and desired; although Mrs. Masham, in right of her station in the bedchamber, had taken all proper occasions of pursuing what Mr. Harley had begun. In this critical juncture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were imprisoned, by the duchess of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loss how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary messenger. He read the superscription, and saw it was the queen's writing. He sent for the messenger, who said, "he "knew not whence the letter came, but that it "was delivered him by an under gardener," I forget whether of Hampton Court or Kensington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majesty was under; blaming him for "not speaking with "more freedom and more particularly; and desir- "ing his assistance." With this encouragement, he went more frequently, although still as private as possible*, to the back stairs; and from that time be-

* 'As *private* as possible,' &c. It should be 'as *privately* as possible.'

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gan to have entire credit with the queen. He then told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itself, from the counsels and actions of some of her servants: "That she ought "gradually to lessen the exorbitant power of the "duke and duchess of Marlborough, and the earl "of Godolphin, by taking the disposition of em-"ployments* into her own hands: That it did not "become her to be a slave to a party, but to re-"ward those who may deserve by their duty and "loyalty, whether they were such as were called "of the high church or low church." In short, whatever views he had then in his own breast, or how far soever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole discourse was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating scheme; which, however, made so strong an impression upon her, that when this minister led by the necessity of affairs, the general disposition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majesty upon going greater lengths than she had first intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and some insuperable; as we shall see in the progress of this change.

Her majesty, pursuant to Mr. Harley's advice, resolved to dispose of the first great employment that fell, according to her own pleasure, without consulting any of her ministers. To put this in execution, an opportunity soon happened, by the death of the earl of Essex, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed be-

* 'The *disposition* of employments,' &c. This word is not used in that sense; it ought to be, 'the *disposal* of employments.'

tween the queen and Mr. Harley, that the earl Rivers should go immediately to the duke of Marlborough, and desire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that post. The earl went accordingly; was received with abundance of professions of kindness by the duke, who said, "The lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his "lordship's acceptance;" and desired him to think of something else. The earl still insisted, and the duke still continued to put him off; at length, lord Rivers desired his grace's consent to let him go himself and beg this favour of the queen; and hoped he might tell her majesty, "his grace had "no objection to him." All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no consequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commission. He had not long left the queen's presence, when the duke of Marlborough, suspecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, "The lieutenancy of the "Tower falling void by the death of the earl of "Effex, he hoped her majesty would bestow it "upon the duke of Northumberland, and give the "Oxford regiment, then commanded by that duke, "to the earl of Hertford." The queen said, "He "was come too late; that she had already granted "the lieutenancy to earl Rivers, who had told her, "that he [the duke] had no objection to him." The duke, much surprised at this new manner of treatment, and making complaints in her majesty's presence, was however forced to submit.

The queen went on by slow degrees. Not to mention some changes of lesser moment, the duke of Kent was forced to compound for his chamberlain's

lain's staff, which was given to the duke of Shrewsbury, while the earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket. His lordship, on the first news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the duke of Shrewsbury as he was capable of. The circumstances of the earl of Sunderland's removal, and the reasons alleged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overswayed him to fail in his respects to her majesty's person.

Meantime both parties stood at gaze, not knowing to what these steps would lead, or where they would end. The earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneasiness as well as he could. Some of his sanguine correspondents had sent him word, that the queen began to stop her hand, and the church party to despond. At the same time, the duke of Shrewsbury happened to send him a letter filled with great expressions of civility. The earl was so weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three standers by, "Damn him, "he is making fair weather with me; but, by "G—d, I will have his head." But these short hopes were soon blasted, by taking the treasurer's staff from the earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majesty sending him a letter, by a very ordinary messenger, commanding him to break it. The treasury was immediately put into commission, with earl Poulett at the head; but Mr. Harley, who was one of the number, and at the same time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already supposed to preside behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great minister and favourite, that whole party became dispirited, and seemed to expect the worst that could follow. The earl of Wharton immediately desired and obtained leave to come for England; leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himself with the utmost profligateness, injustice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and detestation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, because my coming into the knowledge of the new ministry began about this time, I must digress a little, to relate some circumstances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no stranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my study, yet I had dealt very little with politicks, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late king William's death; when, returning with the earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the subject of the five great lords who were then impeached, for high crimes and misdemeanors, by the house of commons, I happened to say, "That the same "manner of proceeding, at least as it appeared to "me from the news we received of it in Ireland, "had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome; "and that it might be easy to prove it from his-"tory." Soon after I went to London; and, in a few weeks, drew up a discourse, under the title of, *the Contests and Dissensions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both those States.* This discourse I sent very privately to the press, with the strictest injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately

mediately to my residence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged some time upon my lord Somers, and some time upon the bishop of Salisbury; the latter of whom told me afterward, "that he was forced to disown it in a "very publick manner, for fear of an impeachment, "wherewith he was threatened."

Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the first I ever printed) I must confess, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myself be known for the author: upon which, my lords Somers and Halifax, as well as the bishop abovementioned, desired my acquaintance, with great marks of esteem and professions of kindness—not to mention the earl of Sunderland, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to serve me since the death of the king; and were very liberal in promising me the greatest preferments I could hope for if ever it came in their power. I soon grew domestick with lord Halifax, and was as often with lord Somers, as the formality of his nature (the only unconversable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myself with the differences between the principles of whig and tory; having formerly employed myself in other, and I think, much better speculations. I talked often upon this subject with lord Somers; told him, "That, having been long conversant with "the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a "lover of liberty, I found myself much inclined to "be what they call a whig in politicks; and that, "besides, I thought it impossible, upon any other

" principle, to defend, or submit to, the revolu-
" tion: but, as to religion, I confessed myself to
" be a high churchman, and that I did not con-
" ceive, how any one who wore the habit of a
" clergyman, could be otherwise: That I had ob-
" served very well with what insolence and haugh-
" tiness, some lords of the high church party treated
" not only their own chaplains, but all other clergy-
" men whatsoever, and thought this was sufficiently
" recompensed by their professions of zeal to the
" church: That I had likewise observed how the
" whig lords took a direct contrary measure, treated
" the persons of particular clergymen with great
" courtesy, but showed much ill will and contempt
" for the order in general: That I knew it was
" necessary for their party, to make their bottom
" as wide as they could, by taking all denominations
" of protestants to be members of their body: That
" I would not enter into the mutual reproaches made
" by the violent men on either side; but that the
" connivance, or encouragement, given by the whigs
" to those writers of pamphlets, who reflected upon
" the whole body of the clergy without any ex-
" ception, would unite the church, as one man,
" to oppose them: And that, I doubted, his lord-
" ship's friends did not consider the consequence of
" this."

My lord Somers in appearance, entered very warmly into the same opinion, and said very much of the endeavours he had often used to redress that evil I complained of. This his lordship, as well as my lord Halifax, (to whom I have talked in the same manner) can very well remember: and I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the

the same party, "That both their lordships, about "the time of lord Godolphin's removal, did, upon "occasion, call to mind what I had said to them "five years before."

In my journeys to England, I continued upon the same foot of acquaintance with the two lords last mentioned, until the time of prince George's death; when the queen, who, as is before related, had for some years favoured that party, now made lord Somers president of the council, and the earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from some bishops of Ireland, to solicit the earl of Wharton about the remittal of the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promised, and wherein I had been employed before, with some hopes of success from the earl of Godolphin. It was the first time I ever was in company with the earl of Wharton: he received me with sufficient coldness, and answered the request I made in behalf of the clergy, with very poor and lame excuses, which amounted to a refusal. I complained of this usage to lord Somers, who would needs bring us together to his house, and presented me to him; where he received me as dryly as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the test, as a step to have it taken off here: upon which, I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, showing the danger to the church by such an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and some others, guessed me to be the author, and told his

excellency their suspicions; whereupon I saw him no more until I went to Ireland. At my taking leave of lord Somers, he desired I would carry a letter from him to the earl of Wharton, which I absolutely refused; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I staid some months in Leicestershire, went to Ireland; and immediately upon my landing, retired to my country parish, without seeing the lieutenant, or any other person; resolving to send him lord Somers's letter by the post. But, being called up to town, by the incessant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greatest part of his government, I lived in the country, saw the lieutenant very seldom when I came to town, nor ever entered into the least degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his secretary Mr. Addison, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance. Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to caress me; which I understood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church party.

I mention these insignificant particulars, as it will be easily judged, for some reasons that are purely personal to myself, it having been objected by several of those poor pamphleteers, who have blotted so much paper to show their malice against me, that I was a favourer of the low party: whereas it has been manifest to all men, that, during the highest dominion of that faction, I had published several tracts in opposition to the measures then taken; for instance, *A Project for the Reformation of Manners, in a Letter to the Countess of Berkeley; The*

The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man; An Argument against abolishing Christianity; and lastly, *A letter to a Member of Parliament against taking off the Test in Ireland*, which I have already mentioned to have been published at the time the earl of Wharton was setting out to his government of that kingdom. But those who are loud and violent in coffeehouses, although generally they do a cause more hurt than good, yet will seldom allow any other merit; and it is not to such as these that I attempt to vindicate myself.

About the end of August 1710, I went for England, at the desire, and by the appointment, of the archbishops and bishops of that kingdom; under whose hands I had a commission to solicit, in conjunction with two bishops who were then in London, the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, which had been many years solicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two bishops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myself introduced to Mr. Harley, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as first minister. He received me with great kindness; told me, "that he "and his friends had long expected my arrival;" and, upon showing my commission, immediately undertook to perform it; which he accordingly did in less than three weeks, having settled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a scheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promise for a farther and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland; which the bishops there, deceived by misinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good issue.

When the affair of the first-fruits was fully dispatched,

patched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and in my own; and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. Harley told me, "He and his friends knew "very well what useful things I had written "against the principles of the late discarded faction; "and that my personal esteem for several among "them, would not make me a favourer of their "cause: That there was now entirely a new scene: "That the queen was resolved to employ none but "those who were friends to the constitution of "church and state: That their great difficulty lay "in the want of some good pen, to keep up the "spirit raised in the people, to assert the principles, "and justify the proceedings of the new ministers." Upon that subject he fell into some personal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, "That this province was in the hands of "several persons, among whom some were too "busy, and others too idle to pursue it;" and concluded, "That it should be his particular care, "to establish me here in England, and represent "me to the queen as a person they could not be "without."

I promised to do my endeavours in that way for some few months. To which he replied, "He "expected no more; and that he had other and "greater occasions for me."

Upon the rise of this ministry, the principal persons in power, thought it necessary that some weekly paper should be published, with just reflections upon former proceedings, and defending the present measures of her majesty. This was begun

gun about the time of the lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of these papers, written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Mr. secretary St. John, since lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, since bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c.; were published with great applause. But, these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it; which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death.

It was Mr. Harley's custom, every Saturday, that four or five of his most intimate friends, among those he had taken in upon the great change made at court, should dine at his house; and after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at first, consisted only of the lord keeper Harcourt, the earl Rivers, the earl of Peterborough, Mr. secretary St. John, and myself; and here, after dinner, they used to discourse, and settle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterward, by degrees, admitted; as, the dukes of Ormond, Shrewsbury, and Argyll; the earls of Anglesey, Dartmouth, and Poulett; the lord Berkeley, &c. These meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at Windsor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of less consequence, and ended only in drinking and general conversation: of which I may, perhaps, have occasion to speak hereafter.

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My early appearance at these meetings, which many thought to be of greater consequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although I used all my endeavours to that purpose. This gave the occasion to some great men, who thought me already in the secret, to complain to me of the suspicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. Harley, even before he was lord treasurer; so early were sown those seeds of discontent, which afterward grew up so high! The cause of their complaint was, That so great a number of the adverse party continued in employment; and some, particularly the duke of Somerset and earl of Cholmondeley, in great stations at court. They could not believe Mr. Harley was in earnest; but that he designed to constitute a motley comprehensive administration, which, they said, the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of some lords and gentlemen, where these grievances were at large related to me, with an earnest desire that I would represent them in the most respectful manner to Mr. Harley, upon a supposition that I was in high credit with him. I excused myself from such an office, upon the newness of my acquaintance with Mr. Harley. However, I represented the matter fairly to him; against which he argued a good deal, from the general reasons of politicians; the necessity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of disobliging those who must remain unprovided for, and the like usual topicks among statesmen. But there was a secret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his most intimate friends were then apprised of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me farther than to assure

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me very solemnly, "That no person should have "the smallest employment, either civil or military, "whose principles were not firm for the church and "monarchy."

However, these over moderate proceedings in the court, gave rise to a party in the house of commons, which appeared under the name of the October Club; a fantastick appellation, found out to distinguish a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who professed, in the greatest degree, what was called the high church principle. They grew in number to almost a third part of the house, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what measures they were to take in parliament. They professed their jealousy of the court and ministry; declared, upon all occasions, their desire of a more general change, as well as of a strict inquiry into former mismanagement; and seemed to expect that those in power should openly avow the old principles in church and state. I was then of opinion, and still continue so, that if this body of men could have remained some time united, they would have put the crown under a necessity of acting in a more steady and strenuous manner. But Mr. Harley, who best knew the disposition of the queen, was forced to break their measures: which he did by that very obvious contrivance, of dividing them among themselves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The ministers gave every where out, that the October Club were their friends, and acted by their directions: to confirm which, Mr. secretary St. John and Mr. Bromley, afterward chancellor of the exchequer, publickly dined with them at one of their meetings.

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Thus were eluded all the consequences of that assembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themselves betrayed by the rest, did afterward meet under the denomination of the March club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then rose, had been chosen without any endeavours from the court, to secure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom: for the trial of Dr. Sacheverell had raised, or discovered, such a spirit in all parts, that the ministers could very safely leave the electors to themselves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by some refiners of both parties, numbered among the strains of Mr. Harley's politicks, who was said to avoid an over great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a ministry. But, from the small experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worst sort of all conjectures; and, from this one occasion, I take leave to observe, That of some hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reason, why the court did not interpose in the matter of elections, was, because they thought themselves sure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Besides, it afterwards appeared, upon some exigencies which the court had much at heart, that they were more than once likely to fail for want of numbers. Mr. Harley, in order to give credit to his administration, resolved upon two very important points: first, to secure the unprovided debts of the nation; and secondly, to put

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an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compass both those ends, I have treated at large in another work *: I shall only observe, that while he was preparing to open to the house of commons his scheme for securing the publick debts, he was stabbed by the marquis de Guiscard, while he was sitting in the council chamber at the Cockpit, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpose to examine the marquis, upon a discovery of a treasonable correspondence he held with France.

This fact was so uncommon in the manner and circumstances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furnished the author with some materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The assassin was seized, by Mr. Harley's order, upon the eighth of March, 1710-11: and, brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his corresponding with France. Upon his denial Mr. Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for mischief, had conveyed a penknife into his pocket, while the messenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the surprise of his letter appearing against him, he came suddenly behind Mr. Harley, and reaching his arm round, stabbed that minister into the middle of the breast, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago ensiformis;* the penknife, striking upon the bone, and otherwise obstructed by a thick embroidered waistcoat, broke short at the handle; which Guiscard still grasped, and redoubled his

* See History of the Four Last Years, &c.

blow.

blow. The confusion upon this accident is easier conceived than described *. The result was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by some of the lords, or the bruises he received from the messengers while they were seizing him, or the neglect of his surgeon, or that being unwilling to live, he industriously concealed one of his wounds, died in a few days after. But Mr. Harley, after a long illness, and frequent ill symptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiscard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy person, formerly governor of Namur. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, prostitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince: as to the rest, of a very poor understanding, and the most tedious, trifling talker, I ever conversed with. He was grown needy by squandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his pension retrenched; the despair of which, first put him upon his French correspondence; and the discovery of that, drove him into madness. I had known him some years; and meeting him upon the Mall a few hours before his examination, I observed to a friend then with me, "that I wondered to see Guiscard "pass so often by, without taking notice of me." But although in the latter part of his life his countenance grew cloudy enough; yet, I confess, I never suspected him to be a man of resolution or courage

* 'Is *easier* conceived,' &c. This use of the adjective instead of the adverb, is not allowable, it should be—'is *more easily* conceived,' &c.

sufficient,

sufficient, to bear him out in so desperate an attempt.

I have some very good reasons to know, that the first misunderstanding between Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, which afterward had such unhappy consequences upon the publick affairs, took its rise during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. St. John affected to say in several companies, "that Guiscard intended "the blow against him;" which if it were true, the consequence must be, that Mr. St. John had all the merit, while Mr. Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. St. John was either mistaken, or misinformed. However, the matter was thus represented in the weekly paper called the Examiner; which Mr. St. John perused before it was printed, but made no alteration in that passage.

This management was looked upon, at least, as a piece of youthful indiscretion in Mr. St. John; and perhaps, was represented in a worse view to Mr. Harley. Neither am I altogether sure, that Mr. St. John did not entertain some prospect of succeeding as first minister, in case of Mr. Harley's death; which, during his illness, was frequently apprehended. And I remember very well, that upon visiting Mr. Harley, as soon as he was in a condition to be seen, I found several of his nearest relations talk very freely of some proceedings of Mr. St. John; enough to make me apprehend that their friendship would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. Harley, soon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord treasurer; and the lord keeper, a baron.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE

QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

WITH RELATION TO THEIR QUARRELS AMONG THEMSELVES, AND THE DESIGN CHARGED UPON THEM OF ALTERING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN.

WRITTEN IN JUNE, 1715.

SINCE the death of the queen, it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all publick affairs and speculations: besides, the scene and station I am in, have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass: and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former, I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified, both by nature and education.

The reading of, and inquiring after news, not being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great distance from the seat of business, I am alto-

gether

gether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most men's opinions of persons and things, regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconcilement between the treasurer and the rest of the ministry, I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the earl of Oxford's disgrace; to whom the lord Bolingbroke immediately succeeded as first minister: and I was told, that an earldom and the garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament; of which I can say nothing certain, being then in Berkshire, and receiving this account from some of his friends. But all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three days after the earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity

of withdrawing to my place of residence ; and rejoiced as much as any man for his majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those, who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign : and I think, there has not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the disposition of the court at Hanover, in conjunction with the party at home ; which, upon all occasions, publickly disapproved their proceedings; excepting only the attainder of the duke of Ormond ; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee ; and now it is done, it looks like a dream, to those who consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own ; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity, and sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well ; and excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and that easiness of temper, which did sometimes lead him to follow the judgment of those, who had, by many degrees, less understanding than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person ; of great justice and charity ; a true sense of religion, without ostentation ;

of

of undoubted valour, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a soldier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of understanding, and a general knowledge in men and history; although under some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which, however, could not but render him yet more amiable to those, who had the honour and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a short imperfect character of that great person the duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason; and therefore, I shall not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication, upon that head, against the decision of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen his mistress, he committed those faults, for which he has now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason, than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at Landen, for his sovereign king William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life; yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill nature, without any strain of philosophy: and although the uncertainty of human things, be one of the most obvious reflections in morality; yet such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it, as have lately happened among us, are so much out of the usual form, that a wise man may perhaps be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent

clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend, whose conversation I most valued, and chiefly confined myself to, should live to see them all, within the compass of a year, accused of high treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But the fashion of this world passeth away. Having already said something of the duke of Ormond, I shall add a little toward the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late secretary Bolingbroke: descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferiour in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God has yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study; the latter of which, he seldom omitted even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed

deed been too great and criminal a pursuer: for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did, for some time, to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him, and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at, in a man of his temper, was, his prodigious application whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in publick, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but understanding men of both parties have assured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The earl of Oxford, is a person of as much virtue, as can possibly consist with the love of power: and his love of power, is no greater, than what is common to men of his superiour capacities; neither did

any man ever appear to value it less after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself and others, more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature and good humour; although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till toward the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured, and to suspect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former; whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read, by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much, as by appearing uneasy, when the dealers in that kind of writing, first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which, he thought, was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have any where met with; was a perfect

fect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet often, to save time, he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office, I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause; his sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry, have confessed very often to me, that after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and consequently had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the publick was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion, by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether

altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at least as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late earl of Sunderland, and the present lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner, that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he has seldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he has not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination, or delay; which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched, than his sovereign and he, upon that article: and therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common

common court vice, of promising very liberally, and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better, than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass, that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to publick affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appears so many examples both ancient and modern, and of our own, as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the case of Themistocles, Aristides, Scipio,

pio, and others; and of sir Walter Raleigh, the earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, has made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities: otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation; among which, princes, who, of all other mortals are the worst educated, have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth, or great estates.

Accordingly we find, that the dullest nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men, to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of little helps and little hindrances; which is made, by Hobbes, the definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it gives offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: for I never yet knew a minister, who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas, it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. And therefore men thus qualified, may very reasonably and justly think, that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themselves excel. For I have

I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise, from the practice of some refined ministers, to act* in common business out of the common road, than from all the usual topicks of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities; where no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those, who, with some honesty, and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method: and on the contrary, no thing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues and the publick, than a contempt or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superiour genius and an equal desire of doing good: which has made me sometimes say, to a great person of this latter character, that a small infusion of the alderman, was necessary to those who are employed in publick affairs. Upon this occasion I cannot forget a very trifling instance: that one day, observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, the sharpness of the instrument occasioned its moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet; whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right.

But to return from this long digression; about a fortnight after the queen's death, I came to my

* 'From the practice of some refined ministers, to act,' &c. From the practice *to act*—is not English; it should be—'from the practice *of acting*,' &c.

place

place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties; and soon learned, that what they objected was the general sense of the rest. Those of the church-side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques; and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the earl of Oxford: "That he had acted a trim-"ming part; was never thoroughly in the interest "of the church, but held separate commerce with "the adverse party: that either from his negligence, "procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he "had let slip many opportunities of strengthening "the church's friends: that he undertook more "business than he was equal to, affected a mono-"poly of power, and would concert nothing with "the rest of the ministers." Many facts were likewise mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four bishopricks undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission, the church-interest of that kingdom in the house of lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned with pleasure the glorious opportunity then in his majesty's hands, of putting an end to party distinctions for the time

to

to come: and the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness, was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers, and men in hopes by the queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different style: they all directly asserted, "That the whole late ministry were fully deter-" mined to bring in the Pretender," although they would sometimes a little demur upon the earl of Oxford; and by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late queen herself. "That, if her ma-" jesty had died but a month later, our ruin would " have been inevitable." But in that juncture it happened (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) things were not ripe. "That this accusation would, in a short time, " infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noonday " to all the world." And the consequences naturally following from these positions were, "That " the leaders ought to lose their heads, and all their " abettors be utterly stripped of power and favour."

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of some use or satisfaction to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these ministers are answerable to their friends, for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions: and secondly, with what justice they are accused, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the succession of the crown in favour of the pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already

already in two several treatises, of which the one is a History*, and the other, Memoirs† of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light, at present; because they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and therefore, intended only for the instructing of the next age, and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time, I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen some years hence to read the History I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it, were not drawn with the least mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice; for I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who indeed has it in his power to reward virtue, but not to punish vice; because I never yet saw a profligate person, who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity; and I knew a certain lord‡, not long since dead, who, I am very confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages, as an Atticus, or a Catiline.

However, being firmly resolved, for very material reasons, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of queen Anne's reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church

* Of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne.

† Relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry in 1710.

‡ Earl of Wharton.

party,

party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert, in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that when the queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be, *incedere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr. Sacheverell's trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low church party, knowing that her displeasure went no farther than against one single family, did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation against the parliament, that her majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the queen in council, in a more determinate manner than was usual with her, as I was particularly informed by my lord Somers then president, some, who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons, would not sacrifice their cause; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those, who knew her best, thought to be real, especially lord Somers and lord Cowper, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the

nation, and a great majority of the church party was returned, without the least assistance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were secure; or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then minister) from a refinement of his politicks, not to suffer, upon the account of I know not what wise reasons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they soon began to discover more zeal than the queen expected or desired. She had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from until half a year before her death: but this, neither the house of commons, nor the kingdom in general, were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been, in any juncture since: several country-members, to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under a fantastick name of the October Club. These, daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that when the session ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew, "That he acted thus to "keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation "lie

" lie in common;" for I found the effect did not answer, and that in the mean time, he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him. His answer was short and cold: "That he hoped his friends would trust " him; that he heartily wished none but those who " loved the church and queen were employed; but " that all things could not be done on a sudden." I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while in reality he had little or none; and besides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himself, rather than lay it upon the queen his mistress, who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and from the opinion of having been formerly too much directed, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be advised. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, "I would ven-

" ture to prophesy, that however inconstant our " court had hitherto been, their ministry would " certainly last; for they had the church, the " crown, and the people, entirely on their side: " then it happened, that the publick good, and their " private interest, had the same bottom, which is a " piece of good fortune that does not always fall to " the share of men in power. But, principally, be- " cause I observed they heartily loved one another; " and I did not see how their kindness could be " disturbed by competition, since each of them " seemed contented with his own district; so that, " notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounces " court friendships to be of no long duration, I was " confident theirs would last as long as their lives." But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes, their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. Harley was stabbed by Guiscard, the writer of a weekly paper called the Examiner, taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, " That the French assassin confessed, he at " first intended to have murdered Mr. secretary St. " John; who sitting at too great a distance, he was " forced to vent his rage on the other." Whether the secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn:

learn: but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair decision, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which although he had a sufficient share, (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease, than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather, because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by Guiscard's confession.

While that minister lay ill of his wound, and his life in question, the weight of business fell, in some measure, upon the secretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confess, I have seldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in case Mr. Harley should die; although, at the same time, I must do justice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he said to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill dissembler) "That if Mr. Harley's accident should "prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loss: That "as things then stood, his life was absolutely neces-"sary: That as to himself, he was not master of the "scheme by which they were to proceed, nor had "credit enough with the queen; neither did he see "how it would be possible for them, in such a case, "to wade through the difficulties they were then "under." However, not to be over particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr. Harley's confinement,

which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men; and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put farther difficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the duchess of Marlborough, it was after some time, given to another great lady *, wholly in the interest of the opposite party; who, by a most obsequious behaviour, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story having spoken so much in other papers, which may one day see the light, I shall only observe, that as soon as she was fixed in her station, the queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were indeed used to divert her majesty from this choice: but she continued steady, and pleaded, "That, if she might not have liberty to choose her "own servants, she could not see what advantage "she had gotten by the change of her ministry:" And so little was her heart set upon what they call a high church or tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority

* The duchess of Marlborough was groom of the stole, had the robes and the privy purse. The duchess of Somerset succeeded to the two first of these employments, and Mrs. Masham to the last.

in

in all commissions remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the earl of Nottingham was pleased to prepare and offer a vote in the house of lords, against any peace while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious. That lord attended accordingly; but heard not a word of the matter from her majesty, although she afterward owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grossly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance, that a person in high station among her domesticks, who, that day, in her presence, had shown his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark * of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to; and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons very near her majesty, had not given assurances, where they were

* The duke of Somerset had the honour to lead out the queen.

proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen; which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her: "That the limitation "specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, "in case the recovery of Spain should be found "impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned "by many principal leaders of the opposite party, "and had hitherto been vainly endeavoured either "by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a "condition to bear any longer its burden and charge, "especially with annual additions: That other ex-"pedients might possibly be found, for preventing "France and Spain from being united under the "same king, according to the intent and letter of "the grand alliance: That the design of this vote "was, to put her majesty under the necessity of "dissolving the parliament, beginning all things "anew, and placing the administration in the hands "of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside; "and this, by sacrificing her present servants, to the "rage and vengeance of the former;" with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient that her own coldness, or the treasurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice, had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, sufficient to turn the balance in the house of lords. I confess, that in my history of those times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to conjecture, that if this were the

treasurer's

treasurer's counsel, he might possibly have given it upon some farther views, than that of avoiding the consequences of my lord Nottingham's vote. And what those were, I suppose, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that from the time of the revolution, to the period I am now speaking of, the favour of the court was almost perpetually turned toward those, who, in the party term, are called whigs, or the low church; and this was a space of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the bishops bench almost wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men, still retaining the old church principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign; elections seldom succeeding so well as to leave the court side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's succeeding to the crown, the church party, who seemed to have grown more numerous under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes that her majesty, who had always professed to favour their principles, would make use of their service. And indeed upon that foot things stood for some time: but, a new war being resolved on, three persons, who had most credit with her majesty, and who were then looked upon to be at least as high principled as could possibly consist with the protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against France, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better versed in the arts

of

of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the history abovementioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low church ministry, which continued for several years: till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame (whether justly or not) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties; her majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, by the basest insinuations; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute: although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady *, upon whose veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact, wherein she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a house of commons.

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation out numbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But, in the house of lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majo-

* Mrs. Masham.

rity:

rity: nor even could this have been expected, if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, the earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and some others, who certainly came into the queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of England cannot go on while the two houses of parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church men; one of these two things was of necessity to be done: either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the whig stamp, by force of a prodigious expense, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: or else, to turn the balance in the house of lords; which, after the success of lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order at once to make the queen and her people easy upon that article, for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong, yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed, for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful. Perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management: but, when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise

otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction, they had so lately got rid of. And I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to take the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace, yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for farther changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the queen had no dislike at all to to the other party (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) farther than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war; to which her majesty resolved to put as speedy an end, as she could with honour and safety to her kingdoms, and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But, in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and, after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but, if the treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant or other instrument to her, already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not;

not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or even although the publick suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. secretary St. John, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superiour to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities, the following session, in the house of commons; and the peace being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps toward it; which he accordingly did, with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title; and that he might not lose his rank, created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family lately extinct, though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant; and the secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, "that, making him a vis-"count, would be but rigorous justice; and he "hoped he might pretend to some mark of fa-"vour." But the queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much at that time in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the earl of Oxford; and freely told

told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any farther commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the publick service. And although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and lady Masham then protested to me; yet my lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men, began to split the court into parties. Harcourt lord chancellor, the dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyll, sir William Wyndham, and one or two more, adhered to the secretary; the rest were either neuters, or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude; although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting, which the state of affairs at that time could very ill admit, and must have rendered the earl of Oxford inexcusable, if the queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents, wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government. My lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and as men of great genius are superiour to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying

secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity or lightness. And upon the whole, no two men could differ more, in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find, and lament, the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much compliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident that this alteration in the queen's temper toward the earl of Oxford could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politicks which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Dr. Sacheverell's trial, my lady Masham was very much heard and trusted upon that point; and it was by her intervention, Mr. Harley was admitted into her majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favour with her mistress; which, I believe, the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement; because it was

early

early known to all who had but looked into the court, that this lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superiour to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship; and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen her mistress; talents as seldom found or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: so that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the publick, than a coldness between this lady and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter, than to suffer, or connive at, the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object*; and wanted the effects of, when his own was sunk, in the only domestick affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider; which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff: but this her majesty would not then admit; because, indeed, it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about

* The duchess of Somerset.

Christmas

Christmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately dispatched, with an account of the queen's illness, to the treasurer; who was then in town, and in order to stop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on every body's face; and the account given of the confusion and distraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived: upon which, the treasurer said to me, "Whenever any thing ails the queen "these people are out of their wits; and yet they "are so thoughtless, that as soon as she is well, they "act as if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason, both before and since, to allow his observation to be true, and that some share of it might with justice be applied to himself.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders, during her illness. It was indeed, an affair of such a nature, as required no aggravation: which, however, would not have been wanting; the women of both parties who then attended her majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The

result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests; and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution, either in church or state. She therefore determined to fall into all just and proper methods that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the lord chancellor, and lord Bolingbroke, but by the treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been then thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and considering no farther than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections or difficulties that the earl of Oxford would make. I had, for some time, endeavoured to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the general *, by telling both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter, of what advantage such a union must be to her majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot guards appointed to attend on the queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry, upon the subject

* The duke of Ormond.

of

of the peace and the pretender, not without many gross expressions against the queen herself; such as, I suppose, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not suffered, under the present powers: which proceeding, beside the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffeehouses and gaming ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The duke of Ormond desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum, his grace told me, the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money: and I cannot but say, that having often, at the duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think he really intended it. But I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the duke of Ormond, and mentioning some ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he said, "He knew not why he should do "other people's work." The truth is, that except the duke, my lord Trevor, and Mr. secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left, of any

consequence, in her majesty's service. The lord chancellor *, lord Bolingbroke, and lady Masham, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the bishop of Rochester † and some others. Dartmouth, then privy-seal, and Poulett, lord steward, stood neuters. The duke of Shrewsbury hated the treasurer; but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland, acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account; so that the earl of Oxford stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the queen's favour toward him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff: which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain; his adversaries not having determined where to place it: neither was it, upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the house of lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The church party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a farther change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majesty's service, except the duke of Shrewsbury, and one or two more, were in the same opinion. The queen herself, since her last illness at Windsor, had the like dispositions; and I think it

* Lord Harcourt. † Dr. Atterbury.

may

may appear, from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the earl of Oxford's door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents. The chancellor, lord Bolingbroke, and lady Masham, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear. And, as he first lessened his confidence with the queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions, from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: or, if her majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect; yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons, he continued his excuses to the duke of Ormond, for not advancing the money; and during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and

hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time, the queen's countenance was wholly changed toward him; she complained of his silence and sullenness; and in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the treasurer and lord Bolingbroke, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might very probably have been prevented, if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him, which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends, on both sides, had not too much observed the common prudential forms of not caring to intermeddle; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my lord Trevor may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved* upon account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly

* It should be—'as he well deserved *to be*.'

declared

declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left, except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit, might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being last at Windsor, I put them in a coach to go thither, by appointment, without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both, that nothing was done.

There had been three bishopricks for some time vacant in Ireland; and I had prevailed on the earl of Oxford, that one of them should be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but, upon some difficulties, not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed. I pressed the treasurer every week while her majesty was at Windsor, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and growing at length impatient of so many excuses, I fell into some passion; when his lordship freely told me, "That he had been earnest with the queen upon "that matter, about ten times the last fortnight, "but without effect; and that he found his credit "wholly at an end." This happened about eleven

weeks before the queen died: and two nights after, sitting with him and lord Bolingbroke, in lady Masham's lodgings at St. James's for some hours, I told the treasurer, "That, having despaired of any "reconciliation between them, I had only staid "some time longer to forward the disposal of those "bishopricks in Ireland; which, since his lordship "told me was out of his power, I now resolved to "retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither "help to redress, nor endure the sight of: That be-"fore I left them, I desired they would answer me "two questions: first, whether these mischiefs might "not be remedied in two minutes? and secondly, "whether, upon the present foot, the ministry would "not be infallibly ruined in two months?" Lord Bolingbroke answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkshire, to await the issue, which ended in the removal of my lord treasurer, and, three days after, in her majesty's death.

Thus I have, with some pains, recollected several passages, which I thought were most material, for the satisfaction of those, who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities, called by the queen to her service in the place of others, with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running on a sudden into such a common beaten court track of ruin, by divisions among

among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse, of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissension; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the queen; who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard, since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes; which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice. She had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And lastly (as I have before observed) having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault, was the treasurer; who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state prudence, "That a first minister must "always preserve the reputation of power." But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politicks, which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; she was positive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate toward his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could

any

any reputation of power be worth preserving, at the expense of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the ministers, and one or two friends of the treasurer, constantly met to dine at his house, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually opposed the queen's measures, was not dismissed from a great employment, which, beside other advantages, gave that lord the power of choosing several members of parliament. The treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, "That this was "whipping day." Upon which, the secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, said, "It was a strange thing "that my lord Oxford would not be so kind to his "friends, and so just to his own innocence, as to "vindicate himself where he had no blame; for, to "his knowledge and the chancellor's, (who was "then also present) the treasurer had frequently and "earnestly moved the queen upon that very point, "without effect." Whereupon, this minister, finding himself pressed so far, told the company, "That "he had at last prevailed with her majesty; and the "thing would be done in two days:" which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the earl of Oxford's disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: he had abundance of merit with them all; not only upon account of the publick, the whole change of the ministry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him

and

and lady Masham; but likewise from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common justice, as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: and I mention it to the honour of the secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the treasurer, that having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those whose business it should have been, as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: but of this I have already spoken.

CHAP. II.

WRITTEN ABOUT A YEAR AFTER.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the pretender: for, upon the earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, "That "the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the "world;"

" world ;" and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue. This discovery we all expected from the report of the secret committee: but, when that treatise appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state pamphlet arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts, or a transcript of letters; and for what related to the pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the publick, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on, in personal treaties between the earl of Oxford and the abbé Gualtier; which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the English ministry: I conceive, that whoever is at distance enough, to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the popish legends together. And to make such an assertion, in a publick report delivered to the house of commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will, some time or other, be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability, as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl, were not altogether founded upon the report; or at least, that those important hints about bringing in the pretender, were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet, than an impeachment; since this accusation has no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the earl of Oxford, after two years residence in the Tower, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach

proach still went on, that the queen's last ministry, in concert with their mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accusation, I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance, for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make, on their first appearance: whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of choosing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out. First, that neither the late queen, nor her ministers, did ever entertain a design of bringing in the pretender during her majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances *, which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends, who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance, I asked them seriously, "whether "they, or any of their friends, did in earnest be-

* 'I must *premise with* three circumstances,' &c. *premise with*—is not English; it should be—'I must premise *that* there are three circumstances,' &c.

"lieve

" lieve, or suspect, the queen, or the ministry, to " have any favourable regards toward the pre- " tender?" They all confessed, for themselves, " That they believed nothing of the matter:" And particularly, a person at present in great employment said to me, with much frankness, " You set up the " church and Sacheverell against us; and we set up " trade and the pretender against you."

The second point I would observe, is this, that during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, " Whether they knew, or had heard, of any " one particular man, (except those who professed " to be nonjurors) that discovered the least inclina- " tion toward the pretender." And the whole number they could muster up, did not amount to above five or six; among which, one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the duke of Buckingham, in whose company I never was above once or twice at most. I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the pretender; and among these, not six of any quality or consequence: but how it has come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to inquire.

The last point is of the same strain; and I offer it, like

like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word let fall in favour of the pretender, although I was curious enough to observe in a particular manner what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think, that if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck, or a very small share of common understanding, not to have discovered some grounds, at least, for suspicion: because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy, as to be able, among those he nearly conversed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This I say, upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And I confess, it is with the expense of some patience, that I hear this matter summarily determined, by those who had no advantages of knowing any thing that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffeehouse: or at best, from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point, can have no influence farther than my own personal credit reaches; yet, I confess, I shall never be brought to change my opinion, till some one who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular, from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they allege; which has not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to those who will hear reason, that the queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known, that those whom she appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the low church part; not only my lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the rest: among which, I can immediately name the dukes of Shrewsbury, Newcastle, and Argyll; the earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Hay, and Orrery; the lords Mansel and Masham, with several others, whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the earl of Dartmouth, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterward: which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the pretender, was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the queen's disposition, must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the pretender. She was highly and publickly displeased with my lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera, when his lordship was sent to France, upon some difficulties about the peace. Her majesty said, "that he ought immediately to "have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the "other:" wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And at her toilet,

toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature, as made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches, which have been cast on her since her death, upon that account.

Besides, I have already said, that her majesty began those changes at court, for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace, by the removal of some, whose interest it was to obstruct it: That when the former chancellor, president, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them, somewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their stations; of which, I suppose, my lord Cowper is yet a living witness.

I am forced to repeat, what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded, to dismiss any person upon the score of party; and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without Spain, for want of speaking to one or two depending lords, although with the last danger, of breaking the measures she was most fond of, toward settling the repose of Europe. She had besides, upon the removal of the duchess of Marlborough, chosen another great lady to succeed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: a lady openly professing the utmost aversion from the persons, the principles, and measures of those, who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: and this her majesty

thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniencies which would ensue. Her only objection, against several clergymen recommended to her for promotions in the church, was, their being too violent in party. And a lady in high favour with her, has frequently assured me, " That, when-
" ever she moved the queen to discard some per-
" sons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence
" opposed the court, her majesty would constantly
" refuse, and at the same time condemn her for too
" much party zeal."

But, beside all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the pretender, at the time when her majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths when king James II abdicated. They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And truly, this was in general the case of the whole kingdom: for the adherents of king James II were all either dead, or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that, if any guilt were contracted by the revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only* to answer for it. And I am confident, (with an exception to professed nonjurors) there was not one man in ten thousand, through England, who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended,

* This position of the word, only, often occasions ambiguity; it should be—' that our *ancesters only* were to answer for it.

by

by arguing* the prodigious disaffection at present; because the same thing has happened before, from the same cause, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument, for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom, toward the house of Hanover, that during my lord Oxford's administration, there was never thrown out the least reflection against that illustrious house, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the small party writers could have thought, that by such a performance, they would have made their court to those in power; and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended toward altering the succession to the crown. But, however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: for, hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience has shown. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated, than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy, than for the climate of England. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majesty with France

* It should be—'by arguing *from* the,' &c.

and Spain, were calculated, in several points, directly against the pretender, as he has now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial, than the politicks of those, who could be brought to think that the regent of France, would ever engage in measures against the present king of England; and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking, or not taking his publick character, as in the case of the earl of Stairs, should serve so long for an amusement, cannot be sufficiently wondered at. What can be plainer, than that the chief interest of the duke of Orleans, is woven and twisted with that of king George; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young king of France to live longer, or not? For, in the second case, the regent perfectly agrees with our present king in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession has been broken for his sake; by which means, he likewise will be encumbered with a pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs male of his body, is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And as this design was originally intended and avowed by the queen's ministers, in their treaties with France and Spain, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present king succeeded to these crowns, with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist

consist with the grief, for the loss of so gracious and excellent a princess, as her late majesty. The parliament was most unanimous, in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design, which France or Spain might probably have laid, to make a diversion, by an invasion upon Scotland, with the pretender at the head, in case her majesty had happened to die during the course of the war: and upon the death of the late French king, the duke of Orleans fell immediately into the strictest measures with England; as the queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us, had thought fit to have thrown some troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in England, toward the house of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprise. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been, either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present king's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace, so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situa-

tion of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But, if any articles of that peace were likely to endanger the protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the Dutch, who were guarantees of that succession, and valued for* zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward than a share in the assiento trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true, I appeal to M. de Buys, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the earl of Nottingham's vote against any peace, while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his masters, of all her majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this farther, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amid all the appearing discontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long resided in Holland, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me, "That "he had power from the pensionary, to treat with "the earl of Oxford, about sending hither an ex- "traordinary embassy from Holland, to declare "that the States were fully satisfied with the whole "plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which "were easy and honourable, and such as had no "relation at all to the pretender." How this happened to fail, I never inquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power: for, then their

* It should be—'for *being* zealous defenders of it.'

affairs

affairs were growing desperate, by the earl of Oxford's declination in the queen's favour; both which became so publick, as well as her majesty's bad state of health, that I suppose, those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the last ministry, as an instance of their inclination toward the pretender, "That they were careless in "cultivating a good correspondence with the house "of Hanover." And on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed, to satisfy and inform the elector and his ministers, in every step taken by her majesty, and what offers were made to his highness, for any farther securities of the succession in him and his family, that could consist with the honour and safety of the queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, lord Clarendon, and some others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance which has often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes: and this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of publick affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprising instances. I have seen an old bedmaker*, by officiously going to one door, when gratitude as well as common sense should have sent her to another, become the

* Mrs. Foisson, necessary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by lady Masham.

instrument of putting the nation to the expense of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness, of a beggarly Dutchman*, who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual, all endeavours of the late ministry, to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum, to a very inconsiderable French vagrant†, gave the opportunity to a more industrious party, of corrupting that channel, through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation, were conveyed.

The second point which I conceived myself able to make out, is this: that if the queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favour of the pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them, to have begun and prosecuted that design, as soon as they came into her majesty's service.

There were two circumstances, which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden; for the whole na-

* Carew lord Hunsdon, born and bred in Holland.

† Robethon, then at Hanover, but in the service of some other German prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the elector.

tion,

tion, almost to a man, excepting professed nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a popish successor; and as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay starving in obscurity: so that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years * must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious, and another amiable; neither of which is to be soon compassed toward absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not then the case.

The other circumstance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophesy. And how little a time the ministers had, for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged, from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers, might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of Hanover. And the universal de-

* 'Some years,' &c. This sentence is very uncouth in its arrangement, and far from being clear as to meaning. It might be thus amended—'Some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, *in order* to have rendered one person odious, and the other amiable.'

claration

claration both among lords and commons at that time, as well in favour of the elector, as against the pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the duke of Shrewsbury's opinion: "That there could be no doubt of the "elector's undisturbed succession; but the chief "difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the "church and people, and landed interest, from "that universal change of men and measures, "which he foresaw would arrive." And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her majesty's servants were upon this article; that knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the queen's demise, they, by their coming into power, had utterly and for ever broken all measures with the opposite party; and that in the beginning of their administration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate. Yet their actions showed them so far from any view toward the pretender, that they neglected pursuing those measures, which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interest of the church, without any violence to the protestant succession in the person of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of their ministry. To prevent this evil, was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politicks terminated; and the methods were

easy

easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince, by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party, acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer publick liberty, for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge; of which truth, Greece and Rome, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use, farther than to discover my own resentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or of courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry by the house of commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was sent to the elector of Hanover, with instructions to offer his highness any farther securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state, a little before his return from Hanover, signifying, in direct terms, "That the "elector expressed himself satisfied in the queen's "proceedings, and desired to live in confidence "with her." He writ to the same purpose to one of the undersecretaries; and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired

sired might be as publick as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what has since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the queen; but, without question, her majesty had a fair excuse to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain, where these accusers of that excellent princess's veracity, will, I suppose, not profess at least, an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politicks terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed, how well it was known at court, what measures the elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place; and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now if we consider the dispositions of England at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and

of

of the people in general, were of the church party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor, to have procured a house of commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments, can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority at least of three in four; because the trouble and expense would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard, merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for, by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a step, while the house of commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed; at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a house of lords has been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature at that time could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however,

however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under king Charles I, although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the earl of Oxford, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favour of the pretender, will perhaps be at some difficulty to fix the time, when that design was in agitation: for, if such an attempt had begun with their power, it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed; because there were certain periods, when her majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the house of Hanover not altogether so much, upon account of some behaviour here, and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence: all which, however, had no other consequence, than that of repeated messages of kindness and assurance to the elector. During the last two years of the queen's life, her health was in such a condition, that it was wondered * how she could hold out so long: and then, as I have already observed, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprise which required so much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable, by the whole course of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of those dissensions, which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree, that this design of overthrowing the succession, could not be

* It should be—'wondered *at*.'

owing

owing to any principle of conscience in those whom they accuse; for they knew very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples, have given but small disturbance of late years, in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test, by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage publick affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shown how the interest of the queen's ministers, could be advanced by introducing the pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her majesty was several years younger than her intended successor; and at the beginning of that ministry, had no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortener of life: and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their mistress: so that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an English ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history, of a set of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprise of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry, in such circumstances, durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments, than hazard the loss of their heads, at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an accusation, that I think, none of their libellers

libellers have charged upon them, at least till toward the end of their ministry; and then, very absurdly, because the want of time, and other circumstances, rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions, (as restiness is commonly attended with slowness) so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred; will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempt she often expressed for the person and concerns of the chevalier her brother, of which I have already said enough to be understood.

It has been objected against the late queen and her servants, as a mark of no favourable disposition toward the house of Hanover, that the electoral prince was not invited to reside in England: and at the same time, it ought to be observed, that this objection was raised and spread, by the leaders of that party, who first opposed the counsel of inviting him; offering, among other arguments against it, the example of queen Elizabeth, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself, that she would not live with her gravestone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majesty's reign, the crown was as firmly settled on the Hanover family, as the legislature could do it: and the question was only, whether the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with

with the sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction which her majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved; and therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that where the duty to a parent, is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family dissensions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterward offer many reasons for it, in a discourse intended for the publick, but stopped by the queen's death, that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm, before I offered it: neither were they nor their mistress to be blamed, that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what has since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the time wherein I am writing) upon those two points, which I proposed to discourse on, where-

in I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and I think, upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions: for I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little use, when factions are violent. But it so falls out, that among contending parties in England, the general interest of church and state, is more the private interest of one side than the other; so that, whoever professes to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country, may have a safe rule to follow, by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is, that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side, will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations, of those who dislike the present establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies; although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true publick interest; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or illdesigning prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope; or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For, abuses in administration may last much

much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers; and where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? or will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For, whoever considers the course of the Roman empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the gothick balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controllable that maxim is, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari:* because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind, than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For, the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man; whose vices, are seldom known to end, out with himself.

SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

AUGUST 9, 1714.

IN order to set in a clear light, what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation, with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done, without some little retrospection into the five last years of her late majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority that the duchess of Marlborough's favour began to decline very soon after the queen's accession to the throne, and that the earl Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power, until a long time after.

The duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin, having fallen early into the interests of the lower party, for certain reasons not seasonable here to be mentioned, (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign) they made large steps that way upon the death of the prince of Denmark, taking several among the warmest

warmest leaders of that side, into the chief employments of state. Mr. Harley, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with the utmost indignation; and about the same time, sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. St. John, with some others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of Mr. Harley, (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her) was deprived of his service with some regret; and upon that, and other motives well known at court, began to think herself hardly used; and several stories ran about, whether true or false, that her majesty was not always treated with that duty she might expect. Meantime the church party were loud in their complaints; surmising, from the virulence of several pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the sacramental test, from the avowed principles and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill designs were forming against the religion established. These fears were all confirmed by the trial of Sacheverell; which drew the populace, as one man, into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious that the queen had still a reserve of favour for Mr. Harley, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal: for the earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kensington, the earl, a few hours after, reproached the queen, that she privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not, without

some difficulty, undeceived by her majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the queen's command, and the intervention of Mrs. Masham, was brought up the back stairs; and that princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which showed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break the united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the earl of Essex, lieutenant of the Tower; whose employment was given to the earl Rivers, to the great discontent of the duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the duke of Northumberland, then colonel of the Oxford regiment, to which the earl of Hertford was to succeed. Some time after, the chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the duke of Shrewsbury, in the absence, and without the privity, of the earl of Godolphin. The earl of Sunderland's removal followed; and lastly, that of the high treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr. Harley (made at the same time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it suffice, that in eight or nine months time the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former ministry left in any great stations there.

I have good reasons to be assured, that when the queen began this change, she had no intentions to carry it so far as the church party expected

pected, and have since been so impatient to see. For, although she was a true professor of the religion established, yet the first motives to this alteration, did not arise from any dangers she apprehended to that, or the government; but from a desire to get out of the dominion of some, who, she thought, had kept her too much and too long in pupillage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon some occasions, positive to a great degree. And when she had got rid of those who had, as she thought, given her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating scheme, whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the same time I must confess my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made use of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which, her advisers might think it easier to prevail with her, to go as far as they thought fit. That these were her majesty's dispositions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of the change, she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of state of the other party: and some whose absence the new ministers most earnestly wished, held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley, who acted as first minister before he had the staff, as he was a lover of gentle measures, and inclined to procrastination, so he could not, with any decency, press the queen too much against her nature; because it would be like running upon the rock, where his predecessors had split. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, against the

principles and persons of the low church party, gave this minister a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houses, especially among the commons, pressed for a thorough change; and so did almost all the queen's new servants, especially after Mr. Harley was made an earl and high treasurer.—He could not, in good policy, own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his mistress. And as too much secrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon these occasions, keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewise other views, which were better suited to the maxims of state in general, than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the discontented party, he fell in with the queen's humour; he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity; and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undisposed of. He seemed also to think, as other ministers have done, that since factions are necessary in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, and therefore not easy so to grapple with*, might arise in its stead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore, was unjustly laid on him. He had no favourites among the whig party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred, than all the rest of the ministry together.

* This should be—'not so easily to be grappled with,' &c.

A PREFACE

TO THE

BISHOP OF SARUM'S

INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

By GREGORY MISOSARUM.

Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, & quærere conscius arma.

PUBLISHED DEC. 8, 1713.

TO THE

BOOKSELLER.

Mr. Morphew,

YOUR care in putting an advertisement in the Examiner, has been of very great use to me. I now send you my preface to the bishop of Sarum's introduction to his third volume, which I desire you to print in such a form, as, in the bookseller's phrase, will make a sixpenny touch; hoping it will give such a publick notice of my design, that it may come into the hands of those who perhaps look not into the bishop's introduction*. I desire you will prefix to this a passage out of Virgil, which does so perfectly agree with my present thoughts of his lordship, that I cannot express them better, nor more truly, than those words do.

I am,

Sir,

Your humble servant.

* The bishop's introduction is prefaced with a letter to his bookseller, of which this is a burlesque.

A PREFACE*

TO THE

BISHOP OF SARUM'S

INTRODUCTION, ETC.

THIS way of publishing introductions to books, that are God knows when to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised, that my small reading cannot trace it. However, we are to suppose that a person of his lordship's great age and experience, would hardly act such a piece of singularity, without some extraordinary motives. I cannot but observe, that his fellow-labourer, the author of the paper called the Englishman†, seems, in some of his late performances, to have almost transcribed the notions of the bishop: these notions I take to have been dictated by the same masters, leaving to

* This preface may seem to us, at this distance, wholly personal. But the reader must consider Dr Burnet, not as a bishop, but a ministerial writer. It was observed by another of his answerers [*Speculum Sarisburianum*], "That the frequent and hasty repeti-
"tions of such prefaces and introductions, no less than three new
"ones in about one year's time, beside an old serviceable one re-
"published concerning persecution—are preludes to other practical
"things, beside pastoral cares, sermons, and histories."

† Mr. Steele.

each

each writer that peculiar manner of expressing himself, which the poverty of our language forces me to call their style. When the Guardian changed his title, and professed to engage in faction, I was sure the word was given; that grand preparations were making against next session; that all advantages would be taken of the little dissensions reported to be among those in power; and that the Guardian would soon be seconded by some other piqueerers from the same camp. But I will confess my suspicions did not carry me so far, as to conjecture, that this venerable champion would be in such mighty haste to come into the field, and serve in the quality of an *enfant perdu**, armed only with a pocket-pistol, before his great blunderbuss could be got ready, his old rusty breastplate scoured, and his cracked headpiece mended.

I was debating with myself, whether this hint of producing a small pamphlet to give notice of a large folio, was not borrowed from the ceremonial in Spanish romances, where a dwarf is sent out upon the battlements, to signify to all passengers what a mighty giant there is in the castle; or whether the bishop copied this proceeding from the *fanfaronnade*† of monsieur Boufflers, when the earl of Portland and that general had an interview. Several men were appointed, at certain periods, to ride in great haste toward the English camp, and cry out, *monseigneur vient, monseigneur*

* *Enfant perdu*, one of the forlorn hope; the forlorn hope is a number of men selected for any desperate enterprise, or appointed for the first onset in a battle.

† *Fanfaronnade*, vain ostentation.

vient :

vient * : then small parties advancing with the same speed, and the same cry; and this foppery held for many hours, until the mareschal himself arrived. So here the bishop (as we find by his dedication to Mr. Churchill the bookseller) has for a long time sent warning of his arrival by advertisements in gazettes; and now his introduction advances to tell us again, *monseigneur vient:* in the mean time we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our spirits in some reasonable agitation, until his lordship's real self shall think fit to appear, in the habit of a folio.

I have seen the same sort of management at a puppetshow. Some puppets of little or no consequence appeared several times at the window, to allure the boys and the rabble: the trumpeter sounded often, and the doorkeeper cried a hundred times, until he was hoarse, that they were just going to begin; yet, after all, we were forced sometimes to wait an hour before Punch himself in person made his entry.

But why this ceremony among old acquaintance? The world and he have long known one another: let him appoint his hour, and make his visit, without troubling us all day with a succession of messages from his lackeys and pages.

With submission, these little arts of getting off an edition, do ill become any author above the size of Marten the surgeon. My lord tells us that *many thousands of the two former parts of his history are in the kingdom*; and now he perpetually adver-

* My lord is coming, my lord is coming.

tises

tises in the gazette, that he intends to publish the third. This is exactly in the method and style of Marten: "the seventh edition (many thousands of "the former editions having been sold off in a small "time) of Mr. Marten's book concerning secret "diseases," &c.

Does his lordship intend to publish his great volume by subscription, and is this introduction only by way of specimen? I was inclined to think so, because in the prefixed letter to Mr. Churchill, which introduces this introduction, there are some dubious expressions: he says, *the advertisements he published were in order to move people to furnish him with materials, which might help him to finish his work with great advantage.* If he means half a guinea upon the subscription, and the other half at the delivery, why does he not tell us so in plain terms?

I am wondering how it came to pass, that this diminutive letter to Mr. Churchill, should understand the business of introducing, better than the introduction itself; or why the bishop did not take it into his head to send the former into the world, some months before the latter, which would have been a greater improvement upon the solemnity of the procession?

Since I writ these last lines, I have perused the whole pamphlet, (which I had only dipped in before) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong scent; for the author has, in several parts of his piece, discovered the true motives, which put him upon sending it abroad at this juncture; I shall therefore consider them as they come in my way.

My lord begins his introduction with an account

of

of the reasons, why he was guilty of so many mistakes in the first volume of his History of the Reformation? his excuses are just, rational, and extremely consistent. He says, *he wrote in haste*, which he confirms by adding, *that it lay a year after he wrote it before it was put into the press.* At the same time he mentioned a passage extremely to the honour of that pious and excellent prelate, archbishop Sancroft, which demonstrates his grace to have been a person of great sagacity, and almost a prophet. Doctor Burnet, then a private divine, *desired admittance to the Cotton library, but was prevented* by the archbishop, who told sir John Cotton, that the said doctor was no friend to the prerogative of the crown, or to the constitution of the kingdom.* This judgment was the more extraordinary,

* It is somewhat remarkable to see the progress of this story. In the first edition of this introduction, is should seem "he was *prevented* by the archbishop," &c. When the introduction was reprinted a year after with the history, it stands: "A *great prelate* had been before hand, and possessed him [sir John Cotton] against me—That unless the archbishop of Canterbury would recommend me—he desired to be excused—The bishop of Worcester [Dr. W. Lloyd.] could not prevail on the archbishop to *interpose.*" This is somewhat less than *preventing:* unless the archbishop be meant by the *great prelate*; which is not very probable, 1. Because in the preface to this very third volume, p. 4. he says, "It was by archbishop Sancroft's order he had the free use of every thing that lay in the Lambeth library." 2. Because the author of *Speculum Sarisburianum*, p. 6. tells us, "His access to the library was owing solely to the recommendation of archbishop Sancroft, as I have been informed (says the author) by some of the family." 3. Because bishop Burnet in his History of his Own Times, vol. I, p. 396, says it was, "Dolben, bishop of Rochester [at the instigation of the duke of Lauderdale], that diverted sir John Cotton from suffering him to search his library."

because

because the doctor had, not long before published a book in Scotland, with his name prefixed, which carries the regal prerogative higher than any writer of the age: however, the good archbishop lived to see his opinion become universal in the kingdom.

The bishop goes on, for many pages, with an account of certain facts relating to the publishing of his two former volumes of the reformation; the great success of that work, and the adversaries who appeared against it. These are matters out of the way of my reading; only I observe that poor Mr. Henry Wharton, who has deserved so well of the commonwealth of learning, and who gave himself the trouble of detecting some hundreds of the bishop's mistakes, meets with very ill quarter from his lordship; upon which, I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar method which this prelate takes to revenge himself upon those who presume to differ from him in print. The bishop of Rochester * happened some years ago to be of this number. My lord of Sarum, in his reply, ventured to tell the world, that the gentleman who had writ against him, meaning Dr. Atterbury, was one upon whom he had conferred great obligations; which was a very generous christian contrivance of charging his adversary with ingratitude. But it seems the truth happened to be on the other side, which the doctor made appear in such a manner as would have silenced his lordship for ever, if he had not been writing proof. Poor Mr. Wharton, in his grave, is charged with the same accusation, but with circumstances the most aggravating that malice, and

* Dr. Atterbury.

something else could invent: and which I will no more believe than five hundred passages in a certain book of travels*. See the character he gives of a divine and a scholar, who shortened his life in the service of God and the church. *Mr. Wharton desired me to intercede with Tillotson for a prebend of Canterbury. I did so, but Wharton would not believe it; said he would be revenged, and so writ against me. Soon after, he was convinced I had spoke for him; said he was set on to do what he did, and if I would procure any thing for him, he would discover every thing to me.* What a spirit of candour, charity and good nature, generosity and truth, shines through this story, told of a most excellent and pious divine, twenty years after his death without one single voucher!

Come we now to the reasons, which moved his lordship to set about this work at this time. *He could delay it no longer, because the reasons of his engaging in it at first, seemed to return upon him.* He was then frightened with *the danger of a popish successor in view, and the dreadful apprehensions of the power of France. England has forgot these dangers,* and yet is *nearer to them than ever,* and therefore he is resolved to *awaken them* with his third volume; but, in the mean time, sends this introduction to let them know they are asleep. He then goes on in describing the condition of the kingdom, after such a manner, as if destruction hung over us by a single hair; as if the pope, the Devil, the pretender and France, were just at our doors.

When the bishop published his history, there was

* Burnet's Travels.

a popish

a popish plot on foot: the duke of York, a known papist, was presumptive heir to the crown: the house of commons would not hear of any expedient for securing their religion under a popish prince, nor would the king, or lords, consent to a bill of exclusion; the French king was in the height of his grandeur, and the vigour of his age. At this day the presumptive heir, with that whole illustrious family, are protestants; the popish pretender excluded for ever by several acts of parliament; and every person in the smallest employment, as well as the members of both houses, obliged to abjure him. The French king is at the lowest ebb of life; his armies have been conquered, and his towns won from him for ten years together; and his kingdom is in danger of being torn by divisions during a long minority. Are these cases parallel? or are we now in more danger of France and popery than we were thirty years ago? what can be the motive for advancing such false, such detestable assertions? what conclusions would his lordship draw from such premises as these? if injurious appellations were of any advantage to a cause, (as the style of our adversaries would make us believe) what appellations would those deserve, who thus endeavour to sow the seeds of sedition, and are impatient to see the fruits? *But*, saith he, *the deaf adder stoppeth her ears, let the charmer charm never so wisely*. True my lord, there are indeed too many adders in this nation's bosom; adders in all shapes, and in all habits, whom neither the queen nor parliament can charm to loyalty, truth, religion, or honour.

Among other instances produced by him of the dismal condition we are in, he offers one which could

not easily be guessed. It is this, *that the little factious pamphlets written about the end of king Charles II's reign lie dead in shops, are looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard.* How many are there of his lordship's writings, which could otherwise never have been of any real service to the publick? has he indeed so mean an opinion of our taste, to send us at this time of day into all the corners of Holbourn, Duck-lane, and Moorfields, in quest after the factious trash published in those days by Julian Johnson, Hickeringil, Dr. Oates, and himself?

His lordship taking it for a *postulatum*, that the queen and ministry, both houses of parliament, and a vast majority of the landed gentlemen throughout England, are running headlong into popery, lays hold on the occasion to describe *the cruelties in queen Mary's reign: an inquisition setting up faggots in Smithfield, and executions all over the kingdom. Here is that*, says he, *which those that look toward a popish successor, must look for.* And he insinuates through his whole pamphlet, that all who are not of his party *look toward a popish successor.* These he divides into two parts, the *tory laity*, and the *tory clergy.* He tells the former: *although they have no religion at all, but resolve to change with every wind and tide; yet they ought to have compassion on their countrymen and kindred.* Then he applies himself to the tory clergy, assures them, that *the fires revived in Smithfield, and all over the nation, will have no amiable view, but least of all to them; who, if they have any principles at all, must be turned out of their livings, leave their families, be hunted from place to place into parts beyond the seas, and meet with that*

contempt with which they treated foreigners, who took sanctuary among us.

This requires a recapitulation, with some remarks. First, I do affirm, that in every hundred of professed atheists, deists, and socinians in the kingdom, ninety-nine at least are staunch thoroughpaced whigs, entirely agreeing with his lordship in politicks and discipline; and therefore will venture all the fires of Hell, rather than singe one hair of their beards in Smithfield. Secondly, I do likewise affirm, that those whom we usually understand by the appellation of tory or high church clergy, were the greatest sticklers against the exorbitant proceedings of king James the Second, the best writers against popery, and the most exemplary sufferers for the established religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a most false and infamous scandal upon the nation in general, and on the clergy in particular, to reproach them for *treating foreigners with haughtiness and contempt.* The French hugonots are many thousand witnesses to the contrary; and I wish they deserved the thousandth part of the good treatment they have received.

Lastly, I observe, that the author of a paper called the Englishman, has run into the same cant, gravely advising the whole body of the clergy not to bring in popery; because that will put them under a necessity of parting with their wives, or losing their livings.

The bulk of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, happen to differ extremely from this prelate, in many principles both of politicks and religion. Now I ask, whether, if any man of them had signed his name to a system of atheism, or popery, he could

have argued with them otherwise than he does? or, if I should write a grave letter to his lordship with the same advice, taking it for granted that he was half an atheist and half a papist, and conjuring him by all he held dear to have compassion upon all those who believed a God; *not to revive the fires in Smithfield; that he must either forfeit his bishoprick, or not marry a fourth wife;* I ask, whether he would not think I intended him the highest injury and affront?

But as to the tory laity, he gives them up in a lump for abandoned atheists: they are a set of men so *impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it,* [popery] *and perhaps acting such a part in it as may be assigned them.* He therefore despairs of influencing them by any topicks drawn from religion or compassion, and advances the consideration of interest, as the only powerful argument to persuade them against popery.

What he offers upon this head is so very amazing from a christian, a clergyman, and a prelate of the church of England, that I must, in my own imagination, strip him of those three capacities, and put him among the number of that set of men he mentions in the paragraph before; or else it will be impossible to shape out an answer.

His lordship, in order to dissuade the tories from their design of bringing in popery, tells them, *how valuable a part of the whole soil of England the abbey lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes are:* how difficult such a resumption would be to many families; *yet all these must be thrown up; for sacrilege, in the church of Rome, is a mortal sin.* I desire it may be observed, what a jumble here is made

made of ecclesiastical revenues, as if they were all upon the same foot, were alienated with equal justice, and the clergy had no more reason to complain of the one than the other: whereas the four branches mentioned by him are of very different consideration. If I might venture to guess the opinion of the clergy upon this matter, I believe they could wish that some small part of the abbey lands had been applied to the augmentation of poor bishopricks; and a very few acres to serve for glebes in those parishes where there are none; after which, I think they would not repine that the laity should possess the rest. If the estates of some bishops and cathedrals were exorbitant before the reformation, I believe the present clergy's wishes reach no farther, than that some reasonable temper had been used, instead of paring them to the quick. But as to the tithes, without examining whether they be of divine institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred order in England, and very few even among the laity who love the church, who will not allow the misapplying of those revenues to secular persons, to have been at first a most flagrant act of injustice and oppression; although, at the same time, God forbid they should be restored any other way than by gradual purchase, by the consent of those who are now the lawful possessors, or by the piety and generosity of such worthy spirits as this nation sometimes produces. The bishop knows very well, that the application of tithes to the maintenance of monasteries, was a scandalous usurpation, even in popish times: that the monks usually sent out some of their fraternity to supply the cures; and that when the monasteries were granted away by Henry VIII, the parishes were

left destitute, or very meanly provided, of any maintenance for a pastor. So that in many places the whole ecclesiastical dues, even to mortuaries, Easter-offerings, and the like, are in lay hands, and the incumbent lies wholly at the mercy of his patron for his daily bread. By these means, there are several hundred parishes in England under twenty pounds a year, and many under ten. I take his lordship's bishoprick to be worth near 2500l. annual income; and I will engage, at half a year's warning, to find him above a hundred beneficed clergymen, who have not so much among them all to support themselves and their families: most of them orthodox, of good life and conversation; as loth to see the fires kindled in Smithfield as his lordship; and at least as ready to face them under a popish persecution. But nothing is so hard for those who abound in riches, as to conceive how others can be in want. How can the neighbouring vicar feel cold or hunger, while my lord is seated by a good fire, in the warmest room of his palace, with a dozen dishes before him? I remember one other prelate much of the same stamp, who, when his clergy would mention their wishes that some act of parliament might be thought of for the good of the church, would say, "Gentlemen, "we are very well as we are; if they would let us "alone, we should ask no more."

Sacrilege, (says my lord) *in the church of Rome, is a mortal sin;* and is it only so in the church of Rome? or is it but a venial sin in the church of England? Our litany calls fornication a deadly sin; and I would appeal to his lordship for fifty years past, whether he thought that or sacrilege the deadliest? To make light of such a sin, at the same moment that

that he is frightening us from an idolatrous religion, should seem not very consistent. "Thou that sayest "a man should not commit adultery, dost thou "commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost "thou commit sacrilege?"

To smooth the way for the return of popery in queen Mary's time, the grantees were confirmed by the pope in the possession of the abbey lands. But the bishop tells us, that *this confirmation was fraudulent and invalid.* I shall believe it to be so, although I happen to read it in his lordship's history. But he adds, *that although the confirmation had been good, the priests would have got their land again by these two methods: first, the statute of mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost; beside that engaging the clergy to renew no leases was a thing entirely in their own power; and this in forty years time would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value.* These two expedients for increasing the revenues of the church, he represents as pernicious designs, fit only to be practised in times of popery, and such as the laity ought never to consent to: whence, and from what he said before about tithes, his lordship has freely declared his opinion, that the clergy are rich enough, and that the least addition to their subsistence would be a step toward popery. Now it happens, that the two only methods, which could be thought on, with any probability of success, toward some reasonable augmentation of ecclesiastical revenues, are here rejected by a bishop, as a means for introducing popery, and the nation publickly warned against them: whereas the continuance of the statute of mortmain in full force,

force, after the church had been so terribly stripped, appeared to her majesty and the kingdom a very unnecessary hardship; upon which account it was at several times relaxed by the legislature. Now, as the relaxation of that statute is manifestly one of the reasons which gives the bishop those terrible apprehensions of popery coming on us; so, I conceive, another ground of his fears, is, the remission of the first-fruits and tenths. But where the inclination to popery lay, whether in her majesty who proposed this benefaction, the parliament which confirmed, or the clergy who accepted it, his lordship has not thought fit to determine.

The other popish expedient for augmenting church-revenues, is, *engaging the clergy to renew no leases*. Several of the most eminent clergymen have assured me, that nothing has been more wished for by good men, than a law to prevent bishops, at least, from setting leases for lives. I could name ten bishopricks in England, whose revenues one with another do not amount to 600 pounds a year for each: and if his lordship's, for instance, would be above ten times the value when the lives are expired, I should think the overplus would not be ill disposed, toward an augmentation of such as are now shamefully poor. But I do assert, that such an expedient was not always thought popish and dangerous by this right reverend historian. I have had the honour formerly to converse with him; and he has told me several years ago, that he lamented extremely the power which bishops had of letting leases for lives; whereby, as he said, they were utterly deprived of raising their revenues, whatever alterations might happen in the value

value of money by length of time. I think the reproach of betraying private conversation, will not upon this account be laid to my charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his opinion upon any score, but to take up another more agreeable to the maxims of his party, *that the least addition of property to the church, is one step toward popery.*

The bishop goes on with much earnestness and prolixity to prove, that the pope's confirmation of the church lands to those who held them by king Henry's donation, was null and fraudulent; which is a point that I believe no protestant in England would give threepence to have his choice whether it should be true or false: it might indeed serve as a passage in his history, among a thousand other instances, to detect the knavery of the court of Rome: but I ask, where could be the use of it in this Introduction? or why all this haste in publishing it at this juncture; and so out of all method apart, and before the work itself? He gives his reasons in very plain terms: we are now, it seems, *in more danger of popery than toward the end of king Charles the Second's reign. That set of men* (the tories) *is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them.* He doubts whether the high church clergy have any principles; and therefore will be ready to turn off their wives, and look on the fires kindled in Smithfield as an amiable view. These are the facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore, in despair of dissuading the nobility and gentry of the land from introducing popery by any motives

of

of honour, religion, alliance, or mercy, he assures them, *That the pope has not duly confirmed their titles to the church lands in their possession;* which therefore must be infallibly restored, as soon as that religion is established among us.

Thus, in his lordship's opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the majority of the kingdom, both for number, quality, and possession, immediately embrace popery, except a *firm bull from the pope* to secure the abbey and other church lands and tithes to the present proprietors and their heirs: if this only difficulty could now be adjusted, the pretender would be restored next session, the two houses reconciled to the church of Rome against Easter term, and the fires lighted in Smithfield by Midsummer. Such horrible calumnies against a nation are not the less injurious to decency, good nature, truth, honour, and religion, because they may be vented with safety; and I will appeal to any reader of common understanding, whether this be not the most natural and necessary deduction from the passages I have cited and referred to.

Yet all this is but friendly dealing, in comparison with what he affords the clergy upon the same article. He supposes that whole reverend body, who differ from him in principles of church or state, so far from disliking popery upon the abovementioned motives of perjury, *quitting their wives, or burning their relations;* that the hopes of *enjoying the abbey lands* would soon bear down all such considerations, and be an effectual incitement to their perversion: and so he goes gravely on, as with the only argument which he thinks can have any force, to assure them that the *parochial priests in Roman catholick countries are much*

much poorer than in ours; the several orders of regulars, and the magnificence of their church, devouring all their treasure; and by consequence, *their hopes are vain of expecting to be richer after the introduction of popery.*

But, after all, his lordship despairs that even this argument will have any force with our abominable clergy, because, to use his own words, *They are an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but their present advantages; and, so that they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and give up that liberty and those properties, which are the present felicities and glories of this nation.*

He seems to reckon all these evils as matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the last usual form of despair, by threatening the authors of these miseries with *lasting infamy, and the curses of posterity upon perfidious betrayers of their trust.*

Let me turn this paragraph into vulgar language, for the use of the poor; and strictly adhere to the sense of the words. I believe it may be faithfully translated in the following manner: "The bulk of "the clergy, and one third of the bishops, are stupid "sons of whores, who think of nothing but getting "money as soon as they can; if they may but pro- "cure enough to supply them in gluttony, drunken- "ness, and whoring, they are ready to turn traitors "to God and their country, and make their fellow "subjects slaves." The rest of the period about threatening infamy, and the curses of posterity upon such dogs and villains, may stand as it does in the bishop's

bishop's own phrase; and so make the paragraph all of a piece.

I will engage, on the other side, to paraphrase all the rogues and rascals in the Englishman, so as to bring them up exactly to his lordship's style: but, for my own part, I much prefer the plain Billingsgate way of calling names, because it expresses our meaning full as well, and would save abundance of time, which is lost by circumlocution: so, for instance, John Dunton, who is retained on the same side with the bishop, calls my lord treasurer and lord Bolingbroke traitors, whoremongers, and jacobites; which three words cost our right reverend author thrice as many lines to define them; and I hope his lordship does not think there is any difference in point of morality, whether a man calls me traitor in one word, or says, I am one *hired to betray my religion, and sell my country.*

I am not surprised to see the bishop mention with contempt all convocations of the clergy; for Toland, Asgill, Monmouth, Collins, Tindal, and others of the fraternity, talk the very same language. His lordship confesses he is not inclined *to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen.* There lies the misfortune; for if he, and some more of his order, would correct their inclinations, a great deal of good might be expected from such assemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that submission, which a corrupt clergy brought upon their innocent successors. He will not deny that his copiousness in these matters is, in his own opinion, one of the meanest parts of his new work. I will agree with him, unless he happens to

to be more copious in any thing else. However, it is not easy to conceive, why he should be so copious upon a subject he so much despises, unless it were to gratify his talent of railing at the clergy, in the number of whom he disdains to be reckoned, because he is a bishop; for it is a style I observed some prelates have fallen into of late years, to talk of clergymen, as if themselves were not of the number. You will read in many of their speeches at Dr. Sacheverell's trial, expressions to this or the like effect: "my lords, if clergymen be suffered," &c. wherein they seem to have reason: and I am pretty confident, that a great majority of the clergy were heartily inclined to disown any relation they had to the managers in lawn. However, it was a confounding argument against presbytery, that those prelates who are most suspected to lean that way, treated their inferiour brethren with haughtiness, rigour, and contempt; although, to say the truth, nothing better could be hoped for; because I believe it may pass for a universal rule, that in every diocese governed by bishops of the whig species, the clergy (especially the poorer sort) are under double discipline; and the laity left to themselves. The opinion of sir Thomas Moore, which he produces to prove the ill consequences, or insignificancy of convocations, advances no such thing; but says, "If the clergy assembled often, "and might act as other assemblies of clergy in "Christendom, much good might have come; but "the misfortune lay in their long disuse, and that "in his own, and a good part of his father's time, "they never came together, except at the command "of the prince."

I suppose

I suppose his lordship thinks there is some original impediment in the study of divinity, or secret incapacity in a gown and cassock without lawn, which disqualifies all inferiour clergymen, from debating upon subjects of doctrine or discipline in the church. It is a famous saying of his, *that he looks upon every layman, to be an honest man, until he is by experience convinced to the contrary*; *and on every clergyman, as a knave, until he finds him to be an honest man.* What opinion then must we have of a lower house of convocation; where, I am confident, he will hardly find three persons that ever convinced him of their honesty, or will ever be at the pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think such a conviction might be no very advantageous bargain, to gain the character of an honest man with his lordship, and lose it with the rest of world.

In the famous concordate that was made between Francis I of France, and pope Leo X, the bishop tells us, that *the king and pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it.* He intends in the third part of his history, which he is going to publish, *to open this whole matter to the world.* In the mean time he mentions some ill consequences to the Gallican church from that concordate, which are worthy to be observed: *the church of France became a slave*; *and this change in their constitution put an end not only to national, but even to provincial synods in that kingdom. The assemblies of the clergy there meet now only to give subsidies,* &c. and he says, *our nation may see by that proceeding, what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court.*

All

All I can gather from this matter is, that our king Henry made a better bargain than his contemporary Francis, who divided the liberties of the church between himself and the pope, while the king of England seized them all to himself. But how comes he to number the want of synods in the Gallican church among the grievances of that concordate, and as a mark of their slavery, since he reckons all convocations of the clergy in England to be useless and dangerous? Or what difference in point of liberty was there, between the Gallican church under Francis, and the English under Harry? For the latter was as much a papist as the former, unless in the point of obedience to the see of Rome; and in every quality of a good man, or a good prince, (except personal courage, wherein both were equal) the French monarch had the advantage, by as many degrees as is possible for one man to have over another.

Henry VIII had no manner of intention to change religion in his kingdom; he continued to persecute and burn protestants, after he had cast off the pope's supremacy; and I suppose this seizure of ecclesiastical revenues (which Francis never attempted) cannot be reckoned as a mark of the church's liberty. By the quotation the bishop sets down to show the slavery of the French church, he represents it as a grievance, that *bishops are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the prince; and that those made by the court, have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and oppressions of the church.* He cites another passage from a Greek writer, and plainly insinuates, that it is justly applicable to her majesty's reign: *princes*

choose such men to that charge (of a bishop) *who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their feet, and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands.*

These are very singular passages for his lordship to set down, in order to show the dismal consequences of the French concordate, by the slavery of the Gallican church, compared with the freedom of ours. I shall not enter into a long dispute, whether it were better for religion, that bishops should be chosen by the clergy, or people, or both together: I believe our author would give his vote for the second, (which however would not have been of much advantage to himself, and some others that I could name) but I ask, whether bishops are any more elected in England than in France? And the want of synods are, in his own opinion, rather a blessing than a grievance, unless he will affirm that more good can be expected from a popish synod, than an English convocation. Did the French clergy ever receive a greater blow to their liberties, than the submission made to Henry the Eighth; or so great a one, as the seizure of their lands? The reformation owed nothing to the good intentions of king Henry: he was only an instrument of it (as the logicians speak) by accident; nor does he appear, throughout his whole reign, to have had any other views than those of gratifying his insatiable love of power, cruelty, oppression, and other irregular appetites. But this kingdom, as well as many other parts of Europe, was, at that time, generally weary of the corruptions and impositions of the Roman court and church; and

and disposed to receive those doctrines which Luther and his followers had universally spread. Cranmer the archbishop, Cromwell, and others of the court, did secretly embrace the reformation; and the king's abrogating the pope's supremacy, made the people in general run into the new doctrine with greater freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the authority and example of their prince; who disappointed them so far, that he made no other step than rejecting the pope's supremacy, as a clog upon his own power and passions; but retained every corruption besides, and became a cruel persecutor, as well of those who denied his own supremacy, as of all others who professed any protestant doctrine. Neither has any thing disgusted me more in reading the histories of those times, than to see one of the worst princes of any age or country, celebrated as an instrument in that glorious work of the reformation.

The bishop, having gone over all the matters that properly fall within his introduction, proceeds to expostulate with several sorts of people: first, with protestants who are no christians, such as atheists, deists, freethinkers, and the like enemies to christianity: but these he treats with the tenderness of a friend, because they are all of them of sound whig principles in church and state. However to do him justice, he lightly touches some old topicks for the truth of the Gospel: and concludes, by *wishing that the freethinkers would consider well, if* (Anglice, whether) *they think it possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the consequences of that may prove*; and in case they

allow the negative, he gives it clearly for christianity.

Secondly, he applies himself (if I take his meaning right) to christian papists, *who have a taste of liberty*; and desires them to *compare the absurdity of their own religion, with the reasonableness of the reformed:* against which, as good luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

Thirdly, he is somewhat rough against his own party, *who, having tasted the sweets of protestant liberty, can look back so tamely on popery coming on them;* it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the devil were in them, to be so negligent. *It is not enough that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and stupid to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost industry to guard against it, and to resist it. If, after all their endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age, and the art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then, we must submit to the will of God, and be silent; and prepare ourselves for all the extremity of suffering and of misery,* with a great deal more of the same strain.

With due submission to the profound sagacity of this prelate, who can smell popery at five hundred miles distance, better than fanaticism just under his nose, I take leave to tell him, that this reproof to his friends for want of zeal and clamour against popery, slavery, and the pretender, is what they have not deserved. Are the pamphlets and papers daily published by the sublime authors of his party, full of any thing else? are not the queen, the ministers,

nisters, the majority of lords and commons, loudly taxed in print, with this charge against them at full length? is it not the perpetual echo of every whig coffeehouse and club? have they not quartered popery and the pretender upon the peace and treaty of commerce; upon the possessing, and quieting, and keeping, and demolishing of Dunkirk: have they not clamoured, because the pretender continued in France, and because he left it? have they not reported that the town swarmed with many thousand papists; when, upon search, there were never found so few of that religion in it before? if a clergyman preaches obedience to the higher powers, is he not immediately traduced as a papist? can mortal man do more? To deal plainly, my lord, your friends are not strong enough yet to make an insurrection, and it is unreasonable to expect one from them, until their neighbours be ready.

My lord, I have a little seriousness at heart upon this point, where your lordship affects to show so much. When you can prove, that one single word has ever dropped from any minister of state, in publick or private, in favour of the pretender, or his cause; when you can make it appear that in the course of this administration, since the queen thought fit to change her servants, there has one step been made toward weakening the Hanover title, or giving the least countenance to any other whatsoever; then and not until then, go dry your chaff and stubble, give fire to the zeal of your faction, and reproach them with lukewarmness.

Fourthly, the bishop applies himself to the tories in general; taking it for granted, after his charitable manner, that they are all ready prepared to

introduce popery. He puts an excuse into their mouths, by which they would endeavour to justify their change of religion : *popery is not what it was before the reformation : things are now much mended, and farther corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a treaty with them : in particular, they see the errour of proceeding severely with hereticks ; so that there is no reason to apprehend the returns of such cruelties, as were practised an age and a half ago.*

This he assures us is a plea offered by the tories in defence of themselves, for going about at this juncture to establish the popish religion among us : what argument does he bring to prove the fact itself ?

Quibus indiciis, quo teste, probavit ?
Nil horum : verbosa et grandis epistola venit.

Nothing but this tedious introduction, wherein he supposes it all along as a thing granted. That there might be a perfect union in the whole christian church, is a blessing which every good man wishes, but no reasonable man can hope. That the more polite Roman catholicks have, in several places, given up some of their superstitious fopperies particularly concerning legends, relicks, and the like, is what no body denies. But the material points in difference between us and them, are universally retained and asserted, in all their controversial writings. And if his lordship really thinks that every man who differs from him, under the name of a tory, in some church and state opinions, is ready to believe transubstantiation, Purgatory, the infallibility of pope or councils, to worship saints and angels, and the like ; I can only pray God to enlighten

enlighten his understanding, or graft in his heart the first principles of charity; a virtue which some people ought not by any means wholly to renounce, because it covers a multitude of sins.

Fifthly, the bishop applies himself to his own party in both houses of parliament, whom he exhorts to *guard their religion and liberty against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they are absent and remiss on critical occasions;* that is to say, if they do not attend close next sessions, to vote upon all occasions whatever, against the proceedings of the queen and her ministry, *or if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them:* in other words, if any of them vote for the bill of commerce, in hopes of a place or a pension, a title, or a garter; *God may work a deliverance for us another way,* (that is to say, by inviting the Dutch) *but they and their families, i. e.* those who are negligent or revolters, *shall perish;* by which is meant they shall be hanged, as well as the present ministry and their abettors, as soon as we recover our power; *because they let in idolatry, superstition, and tyranny;* because they stood by and suffered the peace to be made, the bill of commerce to pass, and Dunkirk to lie undemolished longer than we expected, without raising a rebellion.

His last application is to the tory clergy, a parcel of *blind, ignorant, dumb, sleeping, greedy, drunken dogs.* A pretty artful episcopal method is this, of calling his brethren as many injurious names as he pleases. It is but quoting a text of Scripture, where the characters of evil men are described, and the thing is done: and at the same time the appearances of piety and devotion preserved. I would engage,

with the help of a good Concordance, and the liberty of perverting holy writ, to find out as many injurious appellations, as the Englishman throws out in any of his politick papers, and apply them to those persons *who call good evil, and evil good;* to those who cry without cause, *Every man to his tent, O Israel! and to those who curse the queen in their hearts!*

These decent words, he tells us, make up a *lively description of such pastors as will not study controversy, nor know the depths of Satan.* He means, I suppose, the controversy between us and the papists; for as to the freethinkers and dissenters of every denomination, they are some of the best friends to the cause. Now I have been told, there is a body of that kind of controversy published by the London divines, which is not to be matched in the world. I believe likewise, there is a good number of the clergy at present thoroughly versed in that study; after which, I cannot but give my judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for pastors in general to busy themselves much in disputes against popery; it being a dry heavy employment of the mind at best, especially when (God be thanked) there is so little occasion for it, in the generality of parishes throughout the kingdom, and must be daily less and less, by the just severity of the laws, and the utter aversion of our people from that idolatrous superstition.

If I might be so bold as to name those who have the honour to be of his lordship's party, I would venture to tell him, that pastors have much more occasion to study controversies against the several classes of freethinkers and dissenters: the former (I beg his lordship's pardon for saying so) being a little worse

worse than papists, and both of them more dangerous at present to our constitution both in church and state. Not that I think presbytery so corrupt a system of christian religion as popery; I believe it is not above one third as bad: but I think the presbyterians, and their clans of other fanaticks, or freethinkers and atheists that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the present establishment of monarchy and religion, as any set of papists in christendom; and therefore, that our danger, as things now stand, is infinitely greater from our protestant enemies; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt but that presbytery and a commonwealth, are less formidable evils than popery, slavery, and the pretender; for, if the fanaticks were in power, I should be in more apprehension of being starved, than burned. But, there are probably in England forty dissenters of all kinds, including their brethren the freethinkers, for one papist; and allowing one papist to be as terrible as three dissenters, it will appear by arithmetick, that we are thirteen times and one third, more in danger of being ruined by the latter, than the former.

The other qualification necessary for all pastors, if they will not be *blind, ignorant, greedy, drunken dogs*, &c. is *to know the depths of Satan.* This is harder than the former; that a poor gentleman ought not to be parson, vicar, or curate of a parish, except he be cunninger than the devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this defect, for one manifest reason, because whoever had only half the cunning of the devil, would never take up with a vicarage of ten pounds a year *to live on at his ease*,

as

as my lord expresses it; but seek out for some better livelihood. His lordship is of a nation very much distinguished for that quality of cunning, (although they have a great many better) and I think he was never accused for wanting his share. However, upon a trial of skill, I would venture to lay six to four on the devil's side, who must be allowed to be at least the older practitioner. Telling truth shames him, and resistance makes him fly; but to attempt outwitting him, is to fight him at his own weapon, and consequently no cunning at all. Another thing I would observe is, that a man may be *in the depths of Satan*, without knowing them all; and such a man may be so far in Satan's depths, as to be out of his own. One of the depths of Satan is, to counterfeit an angel of light. Another, I believe, is, to stir up the people against their governors by false suggestions of danger. A third is, to be a prompter to false brethren, and to send wolves about in sheep's clothing. Sometimes he sends jesuits about England in the habit and cant of fanaticks; at other times, he has fanatick missionaries in the habits of ———. I shall mention but one more of Satan's depths; for I confess I know not the hundredth part of them; and that is, to employ his emissaries in crying out against remote imaginary dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourselves against those, which are really just at our elbows.

But his lordship draws toward a conclusion, and bids us *look about, to consider the danger we are in before it is too late;* for he assures us, we are already *going into some of the worst parts of popery;* like the man, who was so much in haste for his new coat, that he put it on the wrong side out. *Auricular confession,*

fession, priestly absolution, and the sacrifice of the mass, have made great progress in England, and nobody has observed it: several other *popish points are carried higher with us, than by the priests themselves:* and somebody, it seems, had the *impudence to propose a union with the Gallican church.* I have indeed heard that Mr. Lesley published a discourse to that purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the evil in proposing a union between any two churches in Christendom. Without doubt Mr. Lesley is most unhappily misled in his politicks; but if he be the author of the late tract against popery *, he has given the world such a proof of his soundness in religion, as many a bishop ought to be proud of. I never saw the gentleman in my life: I know he is the son of a great and excellent prelate, who, upon several accounts, was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. Mr. Lesley has written many useful discourses upon several subjects, and has so well deserved of the christian religion, and the church of England in particular, that to accuse him of *impudence for proposing a union* in two very different faiths, is a style which I hope few will imitate. I detest Mr. Lesley's political principles, as much as his lordship can do, for his heart; but I verily believe he acts from a mistaken conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the principles and the person. However it is some mortification to me, when I see an avowed nonjuror, contribute more to the confounding of popery, than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such introductions as this.

His lordship ends with discovering a small ray of comfort. *God be thanked, there are many among us*

* The Case stated.

that

that stand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten toward us. They search into the mystery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with that mass of corruption that is in popery. He prays, *That the number of these may increase, and that he may be of that number, ready either to die in peace, or to seal that doctrine he has been preaching above fifty years, with his blood.* This being his last paragraph, I have made bold to transcribe the most important parts of it. His design is to end after the manner of orators, with leaving the strongest impression possible upon the minds of his hearers. A great breach is made, *the mystery of popish iniquity is working among us;* may God avert those *judgments that are hastening toward us;* I am an old man, *a preacher above fifty years,* and I now expect and am ready to die a martyr for the doctrines I have preached. What an amiable idea does he here leave upon our minds, of her majesty, and her government! He has been poring so long upon Fox's book of martyrs, that he imagines himself living in the reign of queen Mary, and is resolved to set up for a knight errant against popery. Upon the supposition of his being in earnest, (which I am sure he is not) it would require but a very little more heat of imagination, to make a history of such a knight's adventures. What would he say to behold the fires kindled in Smithfield, and all over the town, on the seventeenth of November; to behold the pope born in triumph on the shoulders of the people, with a cardinal on the one side, and the pretender

tender on the other? He would never believe it was queen Elizabeth's day, but that of her persecuting sister: in short, how easily might a windmill be taken for the whore of Babylon, and a puppetshow for a popish procession?

But enthusiasm is none of his lordship's faculty *: I am inclined to believe, he might be melancholy enough, when he writ this introduction: the despair, at his age, of seeing a faction restored, to which he has sacrificed so great a part of his life: the little success he can hope for, in case he should resume those high church principles, in defence of which he first employed his pen: no visible expectation of removing to Farnham or Lambeth: and lastly, the misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the habit, or values the profession of a clergyman. No wonder such a spirit, in such a situation, is provoked beyond the regards of truth, decency, religion, or self conviction. To do him justice, he seems to have nothing else left, but to cry out halters, gibbets, faggots, inquisition, popery, slavery, and the pretender. But, in the mean time, he little considers what a world of mischief he does to his cause. It is very convenient for the present designs of that faction, to spread the opinion of our immediate danger from popery and the pretender. His directors therefore ought, in my humble opinion, to have employed his lordship in publishing a book, wherein he should have affirmed by the most solemn asseverations, that all things were safe and well; for the world has con-

* This should be in the plural, 'faculties;'—'But *enthusiasm* is none (or not one) of his lordship's faculties.'

tracted

tracted so strong a habit of believing him backward, that I am confident nine parts in ten of those who have read or heard of his introduction, have slept in greater security ever since. It is like the melancholy tone of a watchman at midnight, who thumps with his pole as if some thief were breaking in; but you know by the noise, that the door is fast.

However, he *thanks God there are many among us who stand in the breach:* I believe they may; it is a breach of their own making, and they design to come forward, and storm and plunder, if they be not driven back. *They make themselves a wall for their church and country.* A south wall I suppose, for all the best fruit of the church and country to be nailed on. Let us examine this metaphor. The wall of our church and country, is built of those who love the constitution in both: our domestick enemies undermine some parts of the wall, and place themselves in the breach, and then they cry, *we are the wall.* We do not like such patchwork; they build with untempered mortar; nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better materials and better workmen. God keep us from having our breaches made up with such rubbish. *They stand upon the watch-tower!* they are indeed pragmatical enough to do so; but who assigned them that post, to give us false intelligence, to alarm us with false dangers, and send us to defend one gate, while their accomplices are breaking in at another? *They cry to God day and night to avert the judgment of popery, which seems to hasten toward us.* Then I affirm, they are hypocrites by day, and filthy dreamers by night: when they cry unto him,

he

he will not hear them; for they cry against the plainest dictates of their own conscience, reason, and belief.

But, lastly, *they lie in the dust mourning before him.* Hang me if I believe that, unless it be figuratively spoken. But suppose it to be true, why do *they lie in the dust?* Because they love to raise it. For what do *they mourn?* Why, for power, wealth, and places. There let the enemies of the QUEEN, and monarchy, and the church, lie and mourn, and lick the dust like serpents, till they are truly sensible of their ingratitude, falsehood, disobedience, slander, blasphemy, sedition, and every evil work.

I cannot find in my heart to conclude, without offering his lordship a little humble advice, upon some certain points.

First, I would advise him, if it be not too late in his life, to endeavour a little at mending his style, which is mighty defective in the circumstances of grammar, propriety, politeness, and smoothness. I fancied at first it might be owing to the prevalence of his passion, as people sputter out nonsense for haste, when they are in a rage. And indeed I believe this piece before me, has received some additional imperfections from that occasion. But whoever has heard his sermons, or read his other tracts, will find him very unhappy in the choice and disposition of his words, and for want of variety, repeating them, especially the particles, in a manner very grating to an English ear. But I confine myself to this introduction, as his last work, where, endeavouring at rhetorical flowers, he gives us only bunches of thistles; of which I could present the

reader with a plentiful crop; but I refer him to every page and line of the pamphlet itself.

Secondly, I would most humbly advise his lordship to examine a little into the nature of truth, and sometimes to hear what she says. I shall produce two instances among a hundred. When he asserts, that we are *now in more danger of popery, than toward the end of king Charles the Second's reign;* and gives the broadest hints that the QUEEN, the ministry, the parliament, and the clergy, are just going to introduce it; I desire to know whether he really thinks truth is of his side, or whether he be not sure she is against him? If the latter, then truth and he will be found in two different stories; and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely advises the tories not to *light the fires in Smithfield*, and goes on in twenty places, already quoted, as if the bargain was made for popery and slavery to enter; I ask again whether he has rightly considered the nature of truth? I desire to put a parallel case. Suppose his lordship should take it into his fancy to write and publish a letter to any gentleman, of no infamous character for his religion or morals; and there advise him, with great earnestness, not to rob or fire churches, ravish his daughter, or murder his father; show him the sin and the danger of these enormities; that if he flattered himself he could escape in disguise, or bribe his jury, he was grievously mistaken; that he must in all probability forfeit his goods and chattels, die an ignominious death, and be cursed by posterity: would not such a gentleman justly think himself highly injured, although his lordship did not affirm, that the said gentleman had picklocks or combustibles ready; that

that he had attempted his daughter, and drawn his sword against his father in order to stab him? whereas, in the other case, this writer affirms over and over, that all attempts for introducing popery and slavery are already made, the whole business concerted, and that little less than a miracle can prevent our ruin.

Thirdly, I could heartily wish his lordship would not undertake to charge the opinions of one or two, and those probably nonjurors, upon the whole body of the nation, that differs from him. Mr. Lesley writ a *proposal for a union with the Gallican church*: somebody else has *carried the necessity of priesthood in the point of baptism, farther than popery*: a third has *asserted the independency of the church on the state, and in many things arraigned the supremacy of the crown*; then he speaks in a dubious insinuating way, as if some other popish tenets had been already advanced: and at last concludes in this affected strain of despondency; *What will all these things end in? And on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!* it is as clear as the sun, that these authors are encouraged by the ministry, with a design to bring in popery; and in popery all these things will end.

I never was so uncharitable as to believe, that the whole party, of which his lordship professes himself a member, had a real formed design of establishing atheism among us. The reason why the whigs have taken the atheists or freethinkers into their body, is, because they wholly agree in their political scheme, and differ very little in church power and discipline. However, I could turn the argument against his lordship with very great ad-

vantage, by quoting passages from fifty pamphlets wholly made up of whiggism and atheism, and then conclude, *what will all these things end in? And on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!*

Lastly, I would beg his lordship not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the memory of the dead; because it is highly probable, that in a very short time, he will be one of the number. He has in plain words, given Mr. Wharton the character of a most malicious revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain. To which I shall only say, that the direct reverse of this amiable description is what appears from the works of that most learned divine, and from the accounts given me by those, who knew him much better than the bishop seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of his treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordship this manner of revenging himself; and then there will be but little consequence from an accusation, which the dead cannot feel, and which none of the living will believe.

A LETTER

A LETTER

FROM

A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN IRELAND,

TO

A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN ENGLAND,

CONCERNING THE

SACRAMENTAL TEST.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1708.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter, wherein you tell me of the strange representations made of us on your side of the water. The instance you are pleased to mention is that of the presbyterian missionary, who, according to your phrase, has been lately persecuted at Drogheda for his religion: but it is easy to observe, how mighty industrious some people have been for three or four years past, to hand about stories of the hardships, the merits, the number, and the power of the presbyterians in Ireland; to raise formidable ideas of the dangers of popery there, and to transmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with special care to have

them inserted, with comments, in those infamous weekly papers, that infest your coffeehouses. So, when the clause enacting a sacramental test was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the justices of peace, through this kingdom, had laid down their commissions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and those generally of the lowest rate in fortune or understanding, and some of them superannuated. So, when the earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament sitting, a formal story was very gravely carried to his excellency, by some zealous members, of a priest newly arrived from abroad to the north-west parts of Ireland, who had publickly preached to his people, to fall a murdering the protestants; which, though invented to serve an end they were then upon, and are still driving at, was presently handed over, and printed with shrewd remarks by your worthy scribblers. In like manner, the account of that person, who was lately expelled our university for reflecting on the memory of king William: what a dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced, till the university was at the pains of publishing a Latin paper to justify themselves. And to mention no more, this story of the persecution at Drogheda, how it has been spread and aggravated, what consequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now if the end of all this proceeding were a secret and mystery, I should not pretend to give it an interpretation; but sufficient care has been

been taken to explain it, first, by addresses artificially (if not illegally) procured, to show the miserable state of the dissenters in Ireland by reason of the sacramental test, and to desire the queen's intercession, that it might be repealed. Then, it is manifest, that our speaker*, when he was last year in England, solicited in person several members of both houses to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot possibly interfere with the trade and interest of England; and though he himself appeared formerly the most zealous of all men, against the injustice of binding a nation by laws, to which they do not consent. And, lastly, those weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application against the sacramental test, and the absolute necessity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakness to say any thing of such trifles, as are below a serious man's notice; much less would I disparage the understanding of any party, to think they would choose the vilest and most ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the assertors of a cause. I shall only say, that the scandalous liberty those wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that some men would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those papers are, they seem to be levelled to the understanding of a great number; they are grown a necessary part in coffee-

* Mr. Allen Broderick, afterward chancellor of Ireland, and lord Middleton.

house furniture, and some time or other may happen to be read by customers of all ranks, for curiosity and amusement, because they lie always in the way. One of those authors (the fellow that was pilloried, I have forgot his name*) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the observator† is much the brisker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in lies and impudence, than his presbyterian brother. The reason why I mention him, is, to have an occasion of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel case: last year a paper was brought here from England, called *A Dialogue between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins*, which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deserved, though we have no more to do with his grace of Canterbury‡, than you have with the archbishop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate, more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly, and by name, by that paltry rascal of an observator; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the business of the missionary of Drogheda, wherein our excellent primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the lord archbishop of Dublin§ has been upon several occasions, of late years, misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services, he was by the late

* Daniel Defoe.
† Mr. John Tutchin.
‡ Dr. Thomas Tenison.
§ Dr. William King.

king

king promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the revolution, wherein was an account of king James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the king, as the most serviceable treatise, that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the queen, entirely for the succession in the protestant line, and for ever excluding the pretender; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence toward dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect, yet upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards: in short, in the practice of all virtues, that can become a publick or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands, as those of the observator, or such as employ him.

I now come to answer the other part of your letter, and shall give you my opinion freely about repealing the sacramental test; only, whereas you

desire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both capacities.

I must begin by telling you, we are generally surprised at your wonderful kindness to us on this occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our interests in a point, where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This has given us some suspicion; and though in my own particular I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourselves in our affairs, it is certainly for our good, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in this belief; and therefore I never attempt to justify it, but content myself to possess my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words, than I have to spare.

We at this distance, who see nothing of the spring of action, are forced, by mere conjecture to assign two reasons for your desiring us to repeal the sacramental test; one is, because you are said to imagine it will be a step toward the like good work in England. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding several persons, who have well deserved upon a great occasion, but who are now unqalified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, especially English; but I remember there is in some of Mr. Cowley's love verses a strain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often since imagined it to be spoken by Ireland.

> Forbid it, Heaven, my life should be
> Weigh'd with her least conveniency.

In

In short, whatever advantage you propose to yourselves by repealing the sacramental test, speak it out plainly, it is the best argument you can use, for we value your interest much more than our own; if your little finger be sore, and you think a poultice made of our vitals will give it any ease, speak the word, and it shall be done: the interest of our whole kingdom, is at any time ready to strike to that of your poorest fishing towns; it is hard you will not accept our services, unless we believe at the same time, that you are only consulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at some distance, and I immediately blow up my house before there be occasion, because you are a man of quality, and apprehend some danger to a corner of your stable; yet why should you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourselves, we had abundance of benefit by the sacramental test, and foresee a number of mischiefs would be the consequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made against it by the dissenters, are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how cheerfully they engaged for the safety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that for the future they shall sit down quietly, and let us do our work ourselves; nay, that it is necessary they should do so, since they cannot take up arms under the penalty of high treason.

Now supposing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, (and not to trouble them about the

the fly on the wheel) I thought liberty, property, and religion, had been the three subjects of the quarrel; and have not all those been amply secured to them? had they at that time a mental reservation for power and employments? and must these two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among some men, to melt down the phrase of a church established by law, into that of the religion of the magistrate; of which appellation it is easier to find the reason than the sense: if by the magistrate they mean the prince, the expression includes a falshood; for when king James was prince, the established church was the same it is now. If by the same word they mean the legislature, we desire no more. But be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one established by law, and are willing by the same law to give a toleration to dissenters; but if once we repeal our sacramental test, and grant a toleration, or suspend the execution of the penal laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any established church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many established churches, as there are sects of dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the national church, because your bishops and clergy are maintained by the publick: but, that I suppose will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjust it should, because, to speak in Tindal's phrase, it is not reasonable that revenues should be annexed to one opinion, more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the same author's maxim, that no freeborn subject ought to pay for maintaining speculations he does not believe. But why should any man, upon account

account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived of the opportunity of serving his queen and country? Their zeal is commendable, and when employments go a begging for want of hands, they shall be sure to have the refusal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon maxims, which equally include atheists, turks, jews, infidels, and hereticks; or, which is still more dangerous, even papists themselves: the former you allow, the other you deny; because these last own a foreign power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can suit with free states, with limited or absolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the pope's power in France is but a shadow; so that, upon this foot, there need be no great danger to the constitution, by admitting papists to employments. I will help you to enough of them who shall be ready to allow the pope as little power here as you please; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Christ, is but a speculative point, for which no man, it seems, ought to be deprived of the capacity of serving his country.

But, if you please, I will tell you the great objection we have against repealing this same sacramental test. It is, that we are verily persuaded, the consequence will be an entire alteration of religion among us, in no great compass of years. And pray, observe how we reason here in Ireland upon this matter.

We observe the Scots in our northern parts, to be a brave industrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an undisturbed affection toward each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the soil, are glad to exchange

change their barren hills of Loquabar, by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Down and Antrim, so productive of that grain, which, at little trouble and less expense, finds diet and lodging for themselves and their cattle. These people, by their extreme parsimony, wonderful dexterity in dealing, and firm adherence to one another, soon grow into wealth from the smallest beginnings, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increase daily by new supplies: besides, when they are the superiour number in any tract of ground, they are not over patient of mixture; but such, whom they cannot assimilate, soon find it their interest to remove. I have done all in my power, on some land of my own, to preserve two or three English fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impossible, though one of them thought he had sufficiently made his court by turning presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a most formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at least three degrees worse than popery: and it is natural it should be so, since they come over full fraught with that spirit, which taught them to abolish episcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and observe, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very considerable number in the house of commons, and have no other merit, but that of doing their duty in their several stations; therefore when the test is repealed, it will be highly reasonable they should give place to those, who have much greater services to plead. The commissions of the revenue are soon disposed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout this kingdom, are generally appointed by

by the commissioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be said of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let dissenters into the commissions of the peace, to make them high sheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not see how it can be otherwise, considering their industry and our supineness, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the house of commons, and consequently make themselves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this should happen as I describe, yet the presbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, because our bishops are so great a number in the house of lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be abolished. But I have two very good expedients for that, which I shall leave you to guess, and I dare swear our speaker here has often thought on, especially having endeavoured at one of them so lately. To convince you, that this design is not so foreign from some people's thoughts, I must let you know, that an honest bellwether of our house*, (you have him now in England, I wish you could keep him there) had the impudence some years ago, in parliament time, to shake my lord bishop of Kilaloo† by his lawn sleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, "that he hoped to live to "see the day, when there should not be one of his "order in the kingdom."

* Supposed to be Mr. Broderick.

† Dr. Lindsay, afterward lord primate.

These

These last lines perhaps you think a digression; therefore to return: I have told you the consequences we fully reckon upon, from repealing the sacramental test, which although the greatest number of such as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not threepence whether there be any church, or not; yet because they pretend to argue from conscience, as well as policy and interest, I thought it proper to understand and answer them accordingly.

Now, sir, in answer to your question, whether, if any attempt should be made here for repealing the sacramental test, it would be likely to succeed? the number of professed dissenters in this parliament was, as I remember, something under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the presbyterian party, having with great industry mustered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occasion of a hint in my lord Pembroke's speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the test clause, when there appeared at least four to one odds against them; and the ablest of those, who were reckoned the most staunch and thoroughpaced whigs upon all other occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of whig and tory, do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. I remember, when I was last in England, I told the king, that the highest tories we had with us would make tolerable whigs there: this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristicks, which did not come within our

definition. Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of king William, as our great deliverer from popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present queen, with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an indulgence for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a whig: and I believe there are not six members in our house of commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up, on one side, of moderate whigs, and on the other of presbyterians and their abettors; by which last I mean such, who can equally go to a church or conventicle, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or lastly, such who affect to bear a personal rancour toward the clergy: these last are a set of men not of our own growth, their principles at least have been imported of late years; yet this whole party put together, will scarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the house of lords, the difficulty there, is conceived at least as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the bishops are generally pretty near a *par* of the house, and we reckon they will be all to a man against repealing the test; and yet their lordships are generally thought as good whigs upon our principles, as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay lords, who

who appear to have no great devotion for episcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom certain powerful motives might be used, for removing any difficulty whatsoever: but these are, in no sort, a number to carry any point against a conjunction of the rest, and the whole bench of bishops.

Besides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly against repealing the test, though they are entirely devoted to her majesty, and hardly one in a hundred, who are not very good whigs, in our acceptation of the word. And I must let you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come up to other folk's refinements, for we generally love and esteem our clergy, and think they deserve it; nay, we are apt to lay some weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly disoblige them, at least, unless it were upon some greater point of interest, than this. And their judgment in the present affair is the more to be regarded, because they are the last persons, who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion, and the interest of the kingdom. Because the act, which repeals the test, will only qualify a layman for an employment, but not a presbyterian or anabaptist preacher, for a church-living. Now I must take leave to inform you, that several members of our house, and myself among the rest, knowing some time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any distinction, and desired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a most wonderful agreement, there being but one divine that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary sentiment;

ment; wherein he afterward stood alone in the convocation, very little to his credit, though, as he hoped, very much to his interest.

I will now consider a little the arguments offered to show the advantages, or rather the necessity of repealing the test in Ireland. We are told, the popish interest is here so formidable, that all hands should be joined to keep it under; that the only names of distinction among us ought to be those of protestant and papist; and that this expedient is the only means to unite all protestants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but misrepresentation and mistake.

If we were under any real fear of the papists in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us so stupid, as not to be equally apprehensive with others, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate sufferers; but on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable, as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more; and for the little that remains, provision ismade by t e late act against popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned protestants, and so in all probability will many more. Then the popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors; so that the protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood, and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so

well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join, in any considerable numbers, with an invader, having found so ill success when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them, had been trained for some years under a popish deputy, and received such mighty aids from the French king *.

As to that argument used for repealing the test, that it will unite all protestants against the common enemy; I wonder by what figure those gentlemen speak, who are pleased to advance it: suppose, in order to increase the friendship between you and me, a law should pass, that I must have half your estate; do you think that would much advance the union between us? or suppose I share my fortune equally between my own children and a stranger, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? it is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a majority of part of their ancient right, by conferring it on a faction, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any loss or injury, if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear, how far some people may stretch the term of common enemy. How many are there of those that call themselves protestants, who look upon our worship to be idolatrous, as well as that of the papists, and with great charity, put prelacy and popery together, as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one small doubt † I would

* In the reign of king James II, and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

† The arrangement of these words, *I would be willingly satisfied in*, occasions such a hobbling as is disagreeable to the ear; a small change will make the words run smoothly, as thus—'I would willingly be satisfied in.'

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be willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the test; that is, whether these same protestants, when they have, by their dexterity, made themselves the national religion, and disposed the church revenues among their pastors or themselves, will be so kind to allow us dissenters, I do not say a share in employments, but a bare toleration by law? the reason of my doubt is, because I have been so very idle, as to read above fifty pamphlets, written by as many presbyterian divines, loudly disclaiming this idol toleration; some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a rag of popery, and all agreeing it was to establish iniquity by a law. Now I would be glad to know, when and where their successors have renounced this doctrine, and before what witnesses. Because, methinks I should be loth to see my poor titular bishop *in partibus*, seized on by mistake in the dark for a jesuit; or be forced myself to keep a chaplain disguised like my butler, and steal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather used in those times, when the church of England was malignant.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; popery is now the common enemy, against which we must all unite: I have been tired in history with the perpetual folly of those states, who call in foreigners to assist them against a common enemy: but the mischief was, these allies would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite subdued. And they had reason; for it proved at last, that one part of the common enemy was those who called them in, and so the allies became at length the masters.

It is agreed among naturalists, that a lion is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion

at his foot, bound fast with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful significancy of that word persecution, and what various interpretations it has acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way; they said they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably, ought to have liberty of conscience, and leave to assemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they soon learned to swallow the sacramental test, and began to take very large steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them, were called men of a persecuting spirit. During the time the bill against occasional conformity was on foot, persecution was every day rung in our ears, and now at last the sacramental test itself has the same name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one request, is only used as a step to demand another? a lover is ever complaining of cruelty, while any thing is denied him; when the lady ceases to be cruel, she is from the next moment at his mercy: so persecution it seems, is every thing, that will not leave it in men's power to persecute others.

There is one argument offered against a sacramental test, by a sort of men, who are content to be styled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its service in the morning, and go with their wives to a conventicle in the afternoon, confessing they hear very good doctrine in both. These men are much offended,

fended, that so holy an institution, as that of the Lord's Supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary purposes as the getting of an employment. Now it seems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they receive the sacrament; and supposing all men to live like christians, (especially those who are to have employments) did imagine they received the sacrament in course about four times a year; and therefore only desired it might appear by certificate to the publick, that such, who took an office, were members of the church established, by doing their ordinary duty. However, lest we should offend them, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us: for, if the matter stuck only there, we would propose it in parliament, that every man, who takes an employment, should, instead of receiving the sacrament, be obliged to swear, that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law established, with episcopacy, and so forth; and as they do now in Scotland, to be true to the kirk. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument, urge, the hardship that men should be deprived the liberty of serving their queen and country, on account of their conscience; and in short, have recourse to the common style of their half brethren. Now whether this be a sincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topick of clamour somewhat parallel to the foregoing: it seems by the test clause, the military officers are obliged to receive the sacrament, as well as the civil. And it is a matter of some patience, to hear the dissenters declaiming upon this occasion: they cry they are disarmed, they are used like

like papists: when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they must sit still, and see their throats cut, or be hanged for high treason if they offer to defend themselves. Miserable condition! woful dilemma! it is happy for us all, that the pretender was not apprised of this passive presbyterian principle, else he would have infallibly landed in our northern parts, and found them all sat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman senators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes to appease their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in such a case, the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be so severe to hang them for defending it, against the letter of the law; to which they readily answer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourselves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all popish insurrections at home, or popish invasion from abroad, the government shall be empowered to grant commissions to all protestants whatsoever, without that persecuting circumstance of obliging them to say their prayers, when they receive the sacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of occasional commissions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis;* and they had rather* lose their estates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleasure of governing.

But to bring this discourse toward a conclusion: if the dissenters will be satisfied with such a toleration by

* *Had rather*—is a bad ungrammatical phrase, crept into writing from vulgar speech. It should be always, *would* rather. The word, *rather,* stands in the place of—more willingly; and would any one say, 'they had more willingly lose their estates?' No certainly, it should be, 'they *would* more willingly,' &c.

law,

law, as has been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houses will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to persuade this house of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to say the truth, we make a mighty difference here between suffering thistles to grow among us, and wearing them for posies. We are fully convinced in our consciences, that we shall always tolerate them; but not quite so fully, that they will always tolerate us, when it comes to their turn; and we are the majority, and we are in possession.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obsolete but lately enacted, is certainly on the safer side, and may be allowed to point out the danger he conceives to foresee, in the abrogation of it.

For, if the consequences of repealing this clause should at some time or other enable the presbyterians to work themselves up into the national church; instead of uniting protestants, it would sow eternal divisions among them. First, their own sects, which now lie dormant, would be soon at cuffs again with each other about power and preferment; and the dissenting episcopals, perhaps discontented to such a degree, as upon some fair unhappy occasion, would be able to shake the firmest loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from some late proceedings, at what a rate this faction is likely to drive, wherever it gets the whip and the seat. They have already set up courts of spiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they send missionaries every where, without being invited, in order to convert the church of England folks to christianity. They are as vigilant as I know who, to attend persons on

their deathbeds, and for purposes much alike. And what practices such principles as these (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may spawn when they are laid out to the sun, you may determine at leisure.

Lastly, Whether we are so entirely sure of their loyalty upon the present foot of government, as you may imagine their detractors make a question, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of dissenters; but the instance produced is, of some among their leading teachers in the north, who having refused the abjuration oath, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and I believe has been published; I think it a pity, it has not been remedied.

Thus I have fairly given you, sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houses here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may securely reckon. I will leave you to make what use of it you please.

I am, with great respect, sir,

Yours, &c.

Dublin, Dec. 4, 1708.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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